University of Alberta

Verbal complementation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*: A constructional, corpus-based approach

by

Christopher Douglas Cox ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

Department of Linguistics

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 2008

Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-47198-2
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-47198-2

NOTICE:
The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:
L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

ABSTRACT

Verbal complementation, the introduction of verbal material as arguments of other verbs, represents a common feature in the verbal syntax of Continental West Germanic languages, where it serves in the expression of complex predicates. The pervasiveness of structural variation in such verbal complementation constructions, both within and across speech communities, presents issues of potential relevance to documentary and descriptive linguistics, where accounts of such phenomena must strive to balance analytical perspicuity with the requirements of empirical adequacy.

The present study seeks to offer a description of verbal complementation patterns attested in a digital corpus of one such Continental West Germanic language, Mennonite Low German (*Plautdietsch*). In adopting a quantitative, constructional approach to the analysis of naturally-occurring language, this study attempts to give due attention to both consistency and variation in verbal complementation, whether in the description of major constructional classes or in statistical modelling of common structural alternations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Each of the Mennonite *Plautdietsch* authors whose works have provided data for the present study deserve immediate and heartfelt acknowledgement here. Their respective publications represent not only invaluable sources of linguistic information, but significant contributions to the recent literature of this language, as well, and constitute strong expressions of faith in its continued cultural, historical, and linguistic relevance.

At the University of Alberta, the staff, students, and faculty of the Department of Linguistics together represent a community which has shaped and supported this research from its earliest conception. Prof. Sally Rice, whose comments on an earlier paper exploring verbal complementation phenomena encouraged continued investigation, and Prof. Harald Baayen, whose advice concerning statistical methods has been of considerable assistance, are among the many members of the department whose influence might be felt in the present work. Particular thanks are due to Prof. John Newman, whose patience, encouragement, and guidance throughout both corpus construction and revisions to this thesis generously extended into what was meant to be a year of administrative leave. Funding provided by the University of Alberta and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada supported much of this research, as did technical resources furnished by the Text Analysis Portal for Research (TAPoR) laboratory and the Arts Resource Centre at the University of Alberta. All such assistance is gratefully acknowledged here.

I would further wish to thank my family and friends for their love and support, and to all those who have fostered my interest in *Plautdietsch*. Among these, two

individuals stand out as deserving particular recognition here: Anne Guenther, under whose patient instruction my studies of *Plautdietsch* began, and who encouraged early on an appreciation of this unique language; and Reuben Epp, whose mentorship over the past decade and significant contributions to *Plautdietsch* scholarship have informed this study at every stage.

Duusendmol Dankscheen.

Table of Contents Page

1. Introduction

1.1. Origins and development of Mennonite Low German 3

1.2. Linguistic documentation of Mennonite Low German 9

1.3. Verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German and Continental West Germanic 15

2. Methodology 20

2.1. A corpus of Mennonite Low German 20

2.2. Constructional analysis of verbal complementation 47

2.3. Summary 54

3. Verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German 58

3.1. Verbal constructions in Mennonite Low German 64

3.2. Status government verb classes and complement placement restrictions 90

3.3. Finite verbal complementation 139

3.3.1. Two-element finite verbal complementation constructions 143

3.3.1.1. *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive* 145

3.3.1.2. *Auxiliary – IPP* 146

3.3.1.3. *Auxiliary – Participle* 146

3.3.1.4. *Auxiliary – Too Infinitive* 149

3.3.1.5. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive* 151

3.3.1.6. *Lexical – Participle* 154

3.3.1.7. *Lexical – Too Infinitive* 155

3.3.1.8. *Modal – Bare Infinitive* 158

3.3.1.9. *Modal – Participle* 161

3.3.1.10. *Modelling verb-final order alternation* 162

3.3.1.11. Summary 176

3.3.2. Three-element finite verbal complementation constructions 176

3.3.2.1. *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* 179

3.3.2.2. *Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive* 180

3.3.2.3. *Auxiliary – IPP – Participle* 182

3.3.2.4. *Auxiliary – IPP – Too Infinitive* 182

3.3.2.5. *Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive* 183

3.3.2.6. *Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive* 185

3.3.2.7. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* 188

3.3.2.8. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Participle* 189

3.3.2.9. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* 190

3.3.2.10. *Lexical – Too Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* 191

3.3.2.11. *Lexical – Too Infinitive – Too Infinitive* 192

3.3.2.12. *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* 194

3.3.2.13. *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle* 197

3.3.2.14. *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* 202

3.3.2.15. Summary 206

3.3.3. Four-element finite verbal complementation constructions 207

3.3.3.1. Auxiliary-introduced four-element finite verbal complementation constructions 209

3.3.3.2. Modal-introduced four-element finite verbal complementation constructions 211

3.3.3.3. Summary 213

3.3.4. Summary 214

3.4. Infinitival verbal complementation 216

3.5. Verb projection raising 224

3.6. Infinitivus-pro-Participio 242

3.7. Verbal complementation beyond the tagged subcorpus 262

3.8. Summary 270

4. Discussion 276

5. Conclusion 286

References 289

Appendix A - Tagset for Mennonite Low German 303

List of Tables Page

Table 2.1: Composition of written corpus of Mennonite Low German, with raw word token and word type counts for each component document. 22

Table 2.2: Composition of orthographically normalized subcorpus. 33

Table 2.3: Composition of tagged subcopus by genre and translation status of texts. 36

Table 3.1: Summary of status government patterns for auxiliary, lexical, and modal verbs in the tagged subcorpus ($n = 4996$). 98

Table 3.2: Status government patterns of verbs in the tagged subcorpus ($n = 113$). 113

Table 3.3: Contingency table comparing counts of second-status complements to counts of complements of other statuses appearing in the tagged subcorpus. 131

Table 3.4: Status of complement verbs and their positions relative to matrix verbs in verb clusters in the tagged subcorpus. 134

Table 3.5: Status of matrix verbs and the positions of their complements within final verb clusters in the tagged subcorpus. 136

Table 3.6: Number of instances of two, three, and four-verb finite complementation constructions in V_2 and V_{Final} contexts in the tagged subcorpus. 142

Table 3.7: Overview of verbal orders attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts for each two-element finite verbal complementation construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by constructional schema. 144

Table 3.8: Linear orders attested in JMF and RE for modal verbs in modal-infinitival constructions 161

Table 3.9: Proportions of 1-2 and 2-1 verb order in verb-final contexts across two-element finite verbal complementation constructions in poetry and prose, grouped by author. 164

Table 3.10: Random effects structure of the initial generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). 168

Table 3.11: Fixed effects structure of the initial generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). 169

Table 3.12: Fixed effects structure of the revised generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). 172

Table 3.13: Random effects structure of the revised generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). 172

Table 3.14: Matrix verbs and the status of their complements in verb-final two-element complementation constructions, listed in increasing order of best linear unbiased predictor (BLUP) values estimated for each verb in the revised model. 173

Table 3.15: Overview of verbal orders attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts for each three-element finite verbal complementation construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by constructional schema. 179

Table 3.16: Overview of verbal orders attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts for each four-element finite verbal complementation construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by constructional schema. 208

Table 3.17: Distribution of VPR constructions across constructional schemas and verbal orders in verb-second and verb-final contexts. 232

Table 3.18: Distribution of VPR material in the tagged subcorpus by author and class. 235

Table 3.19: IPP and participial forms of all IPP verbs appearing the tagged subcorpus. 247

Table 3.20: Distribution of IPP constructions across constructional schemas in the tagged subcorpus. 252

Table 3.21: Verbal complement orders across IPP constructions in the tagged subcorpus. 256

Table 3.22: Attested verb orders for JK and JAL in verb-second and verb-final contexts in four schemas of two-element finite verbal complementation constructions. 264

Table 3.23: Attested verb orders for JK and JAL in verb-second and verb-final contexts in four schemas of three-element finite verbal complementation constructions. 266

Table 3.24: Attested verb orders for JK and JAL in verb-second and verb-final contexts in three schemas of four-element finite verbal complementation constructions. 270

List of Figures Page

Figure 3.1: Positions of verbal complements of different morphological statuses relative to their matrix verbs in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by author. 137

Figure 3.2: Complement positions relative to matrix verbs of different statuses in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by author. 138

1. INTRODUCTION. The morphosyntactic characteristics of verbal complementation have received considerable attention in both the theoretical and documentary literature on the Continental West Germanic languages, a group of varieties within the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family historically situated within the region of western Europe bounded approximately by the North and Baltic Seas and the Alps in the north and sound, and the river basins of the Oder and the Rhine in the east and west, respectively.[1] Verbal complementation involving two or more modal, auxiliary, or lexical verbs in a single "predicate" is common both within and across varieties of these languages, as examples from Standard German (1a), Standard Dutch (1b), Zürich German (1c), Frisian (1d), and Afrikaans (1e) demonstrate.

(1) a. *man wird ihn hier liegen bleiben lassen können*
one will him here lie:INF stay:INF let:INF can:INF
'One will be able to let him stay lying here.' (Bech 1955: 64)

b. *omdat Cecilia de kraanvogels wilde kunnen zien vliegen*
because Cecilia the cranes wanted can:INF see:INF fly:INF
'Because Cecilia wanted to be able to see the cranes fly.' (Evers 1975: 10)

c. *De Fritz hät em vatter s bschteck ghulffen abtröchne.*
the Fritz has the father the cutlery help:PTCP dry.off:INF
'Fritz helped (the) father dry the cutlery.' (Lötscher 1978: 4)

---

[1] More precisely, Zwart (2005) defines the historical geographical distribution of the Continental West Germanic languages in terms of river basins within northwestern Europe, namely those of the "Scheldt, the (lower) Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Elbe, the Weser, the Oder, and the upper Danube" (903), with further varieties spoken in northern Italy, South Africa, and by immigrant communities worldwide.

d. *Hy soe it dwaan wollen ha.*

he would it do:INF want:PTCP have:INF

'He would have liked to do it.' (Wurmbrand 2006: 261)

e. *Dink jy ek sal kan in Pretoria bly?*

think you I will can:INF in Pretoria stay:INF?

'Do you think I will be able to get a place to stay in Pretoria?' (Robbers 1997: 82, cited in Wurmbrand 2006: 281)

The present study seeks to offer an account of the lexical, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of similar instances of verbal complementation drawn from a corpus of Canadian Mennonite Low German (*Plautdietsch*), a variety of Eastern Low German spoken by an estimated 100,000 Canadian Mennonites of primarily Dutch-Prussian-Russian origin (cf. Epp 1993: 103; Gordon 2005). The constructional approach adopted here to the analysis of empirical data on verbal complementation from representatives of two major dialect groups of Canadian Mennonite Low German attempts to take into consideration the full range of variation noted across speakers, varieties, lexical items, and constructional contexts, without obscuring significant trends which may traverse these factors or preventing further formalization or reanalysis of these descriptive results from other theoretical perspectives. The goal is thus to produce a documentary record of verbal complementation in Canadian Mennonite Low German which is "cut from whole cloth," as it were – one which proves as capable of representing the productive, regular, and abstract-schematic aspects of these constructions as of their semi-productive, idiomatic, and lexically-specified features, giving due consideration to variation observed in the empirical data at hand.

In order to situate this research within the relevant historical, linguistic, and theoretical contexts, the sections which follow in this chapter attempt to present relatively brief overviews of the history of Mennonites and of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*; the present state of linguistic documentation of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, and in particular of its syntactic structure; and, finally, the role of verbal complementation within analyses of verbal syntax, both of this variety and of related Continental West Germanic languages.

1.1. ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF MENNONITE LOW GERMAN. In order to understand possible sources of variation and commonality in the linguistic features of Canadian Mennonite Low German, it is necessary to consider the historical circumstances which favoured the emergence of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* as a distinct variety within Continental West Germanic, and thus the history of its speakers themselves.[2]

The Mennonites represent an Anabaptist Christian denomination which emerged in central Europe during the early Protestant Reformation. From the first Anabaptist baptisms in Zürich in 1525, these groups' doctrinal emphasis upon the voluntary adult baptism of believers (hence 'Anabaptist', literally 're-baptizing'), the separation of church and state, and insistence upon non-violence at once distinguished them from other Protestant groups and was met with open hostility by governments of both Catholic and Protestant affiliation (cf. Dyck 1993: 33). The severe persecution of these early Anabaptists, whose confessional practice of adult baptism presented significant challenges for contemporary systems of governance which relied upon parish records of infant baptism for the maintenance of accurate population records for purposes of taxation and military conscription, did not hinder the gradual spread of Anabaptism to areas of northern Europe in subsequent years. Menno Simons, a Frisian Catholic priest, left his clerical office in 1536 to join these northern Anabaptists, and would become an influential leader of several pacifist Anabaptist groups to which his name was later applied (Reger & Plett 2001: 15; Epp 1993: 56; Dyck 1993: 102-5).

---

[2] The designators 'Mennonite Low German' and 'Mennonite Plautdietsch' are intended in the present study to be synonymous, referring in both cases to those varieties of Nether Prussian Eastern Low German spoken predominantly by individuals of Dutch-Russian Mennonite heritage. This decision might reasonably be called into question: for their part, Low German-speaking Mennonites themselves commonly refer to their variety as *Plautdietsch* or simply as *Dietsch* 'German', in contrast to *Huagdietsch* 'High German', lending these designations some merit as autochthonous labels. Recognizing the existence of communities of both non-Mennonite speakers of *Plautdietsch* (cf. McIver 1995) and of Mennonite speakers of other varieties of Eastern Low German (cf. Epp 1996: 2), however, it would seem appropriate to maintain a clear terminological distinction between these three historically and linguistically distinct groups.

Continued persecution of Anabaptists throughout the 16th and 17th centuries led to the migration of large numbers of Mennonites from central and northwestern Europe to free cities throughout the continent where respite from religious persecution was at least temporarily assured. These free cities included Danzig (present-day Gdańsk), where Mennonites fleeing persecution in the lowlands were welcomed in the Vistula Delta for their skills in land reclamation (cf. Epp 1993: 64; Dyck 1993: 121). Over the course of the next two centuries, increasing numbers of Mennonite settlers in the Vistula Delta would come to adopt the local Nether-Prussian (*Niederpreußisch*) varieties of Eastern

Low German, incorporating lexical elements of their original Frisian and Low Franconian varieties in the process (cf. Thiessen 1963: 26; Thiessen 2003: xii; Thiessen 2006; Ziesemer 1924: 117).[3] In contrast, Dutch was maintained as the language of church services, correspondence, and education until the late 18th century, when these domains were finally ceded to Standard German (Krahn et al. 1959: 187; Thiessen 1988: 130-1; Epp 1993: 58, 71-3).

The First Partition of Poland in 1772, which brought large sections of the Vistula Delta under Prussian control, was followed by a gradual erosion of earlier privileges granted to Mennonites by the Polish crown, culminating in the prohibition of all governmentally-unapproved Mennonite land acquisition in 1787 (Quiring 1928: 5-6). Facing land shortages and increasing pressure from the Prussian government to participate in military service, Mennonites from the Vistula Delta accepted the invitation of Catherine II to settle in southern Russia (present-day Ukraine) on lands recently acquired from the Ottoman Empire, with full assurance of religious and educational freedoms and exemption from compulsory military service (Reger & Plett 2001: 16; Dyck 1993: 168-9). Mennonite settlement in Ukraine began in 1788, with successive waves of immigration leading to the establishment of the Chortitza or "Old" Colony on the banks of the Chortitza River, a tributary of the Dnieper. Further immigration throughout the 19th century resulted in the founding of the Molochnaya or "New" Colony in 1803, 100 miles southeast of the Chortitza Colony, and the smaller Am Trakt and Alexanderthal colonies on the Volga in 1853 and 1859, with further daughter colonies stemming from these Russian settlements being established throughout the Russian Empire well into the first decade of the 20th century (Quiring 1928; Dyck 1993: 173-5, 178; Moelleken 1987a: 90; Nyman 1997: 261-2).

---

[3] It should be noted that this process of adopting Frisian and Low Franconian lexical elements into local varieties of Low German was not necessarily restricted to the Mennonite population alone: as both Mitzka (1930: 12) and Ziesemer (1924: 117) point out, both Mennonite and non-Mennonite speakers of Low German in the Vistula Delta show signs of Low Franconian lexical influence.

The linguistic consequences of these colonies' geographical dispersion and the passage of time between waves of emigration for dialectal variation observed in present-day varieties of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* remains a point of some scholarly contention. Several researchers (e.g. Quiring 1928: 42-5; Thiessen 1963: 74; Goerzen 1970: 15) have suggested that characteristic dialectal differences are largely the result of confessional divisions between Flemish and Frisian Mennonites which were maintained throughout the period of Mennonite settlement in the Vistula Delta; while others (e.g. Epp 1987: 66-7; Moelleken 1987a: 99; Thiessen 1989; Epp 1993: 78-9; and to some extent Mitzka 1930: 23) submit that these same features more likely coincide with the existing dialect geography of the Vistula Delta and sociolectal differences relating to economic status, rather than with the particular confessional affiliations of speakers. The time difference between the establishment of colonies has also been suggested by some to be of relevance in accounting for dialectal variation: Thiessen (1989) proposes that dialectal changes were already in progress in the Vistula Delta during the time between the first two waves of major Mennonite emigration to Ukraine, which consequently distinguished early Mennonite immigrants, whose participation in these changes was presumably minimal, from later immigrants, for whom these processes of morphophonological change had effectively run their course. Moelleken (1987a) presents a critical overview of such research into the historical origins of dialectal variation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*. For the purposes of the present study, it should be sufficient to note that systematic dialectal differences are still observed between the varieties of Mennonite Low German spoken by individuals whose forebears settled in the Molochnaya and Chortitza colonies, although the origins and subsequent development of these divergent features remain an area of active research.

Mennonite settlements in Ukraine and throughout the Russian Empire continued to expand largely without external interference throughout the nineteenth century until the period between 1861 and 1881, when policy reforms introduced during the reign of Alexander II required that the then-autonomous Mennonite schools be brought under Russian administration, and that young Mennonite men participate in non-combatant military service or alternative civil service (Epp 1962: 24-5; Epp 1993: 82-3). These political actions, as elements of a larger policy of Russification, were viewed by many Mennonites as a breach of the charter of right and privileges (*Privilegium*) issued to them by imperial decree in 1800 which guaranteed their continued freedom of religion and exemption from military service, and thus as a threat to the maintenance of their distinct religious and cultural identity (Epp 1993: 83; Moelleken 1987b: 151). Faced with political uncertainty and economic difficulties caused by persistent shortages of land within many colonies, almost one third of all Mennonites in Russia emigrated to North America between 1874 and 1880 (Doell 1987: 3), with emigrants from the Molochnaya Colony settling primarily in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas, and emigrants from the

Chortitza Colony in Manitoba, where both land and religious and educational freedoms were granted to them by the Canadian government (Dyck 1993: 207; Epp 1993: 84-5). Further emigration westward into Saskatchewan began in 1891 (Doell 1987: 6), and into northern Alberta and British Columbia in later decades.

The privileges granted to these Mennonites in Canada would not last for long, however. Revocation of their right to maintain private, German-language schools followed the enactment of the School Attendance Act in Manitoba in 1916 (Redekop 1969: 12) and in Saskatchewan in 1917 (Doell 1987: 24), again causing uncertainty within the affected communities about their ability to provide adequate religious and cultural instruction to their youth without significant control of their educational environment. Confronted with governmental fines for non-compliance with the new legislation and the forced closure of many of their private schools, several thousand conservative Mennonites from these areas again emigrated, establishing settlements throughout the 1920s and 1930s in areas of northern Mexico and central Paraguay, settlements which would later expand into Bolivia and Belize in the 1950s and 1960s (Doell 1987: 83; Redekop 1969: 22-6).

At the same time, political instability, disease, and famine in the Mennonite colonies in Russia in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution led to a second major wave of emigration, with some 20,000 Mennonite refugees escaping to western Canada and Paraguay between 1923 and 1930 (Epp 1962; Dyck 1993: 188), and a third wave of emigration to these same countries following the Second World War. For those Mennonites who remained in Russia, the Stalinist purges of the 1930s and forced relocations of the 1940s resulted in the exile of several thousand Mennonites to Siberia and the deaths of approximately one third of the entire Russian Mennonite population in Soviet gulags (Dyck 1962: 265; Reger & Plett: 481). Both political reforms introduced under Gorbachev and the dissolution of the Soviet Union permitted the emigration of many exiled Mennonites to Germany, where a significant population exists today (Nieuweboer 2000: 117).

As a consequence of this complex history of emigration and exile, linguistically distinct communities of Mennonite Low German speakers are found at present on four continents and in no fewer than a dozen countries. A system of stable diglossia in which forms of Standard German predominate in the domains of church, formal education, and correspondence between Mennonites, and Mennonite Low German in virtually all other domains, has remained essentially intact in most speech communities from the time of initial Mennonite settlement in Russia until recent generations, though the sociolinguistic functions ascribed to each language may have changed in individual communities (cf. Moelleken 1986). While the relationship of each speech community to its respective national and regional language(s) varies considerably, ranging from competence being limited to a few members of the speech community (cf. Kaufmann 2003a: 183; Kaufmann 2005: 65) to functional trilingualism as the societal norm (cf. Rohkohl 1993: 36-7), all varieties of Mennonite Low German nevertheless remain mutually intelligible (cf. Epp in Rempel 1995: v).

1.2. LINGUISTIC DOCUMENTATION OF MENNONITE LOW GERMAN. Given the often adverse historical circumstances which have given rise to the present geographical dispersion of Mennonite Low German speech communities worldwide, it would seem remarkable that this variety, largely separated from its closest linguistic kin, should not only survive, but indeed flourish despite continual pressures favouring its assimilation into the languages of the local or national majorities. Mennonite *Plautdietsch* remains the primary language of several hundred thousand Mennonites worldwide, and while Canadian and northern U.S. varieties have been reported to be in decline (cf. Brednich 1977: 9-10; Loewen & Reimer 1985: 285-6), there would appear to be little sign of the language ceding its status to Spanish or Portuguese in the growing Central and South American Mennonite settlements. In this respect, Mennonite *Plautdietsch* is alone among its sister dialects as the only non-moribund variety of the entire branch of Eastern Low German from which it stems, the remaining Nether-Prussian speech communities in the Vistula Delta having dispersed or been displaced following the Second World War, most often resulting in a critical interruption in the transmission of these varieties to future generations of speakers (cf. Epp 1996: 2; Krahn et al. 1959: 187).

It would thus appear possible that Mennonite *Plautdietsch* may come to represent the last surviving representative of its language group, and thus be of particular documentary importance as a "living record" of the characteristic linguistic features of this family of varieties. The relevance of documentary linguistic research concentrating upon Mennonite *Plautdietsch* would appear further underscored by recent work by Siemens (2003) which proposes that Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, as with several of its sister dialects, may represent comparatively rare Germanic member of the Baltic *Sprachbund* (cf. Campbell 1999: 337), a hypothesis which, if correct, would imply that the present-day linguistic characteristics of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* may provide information of potential value to reconstructions of the areal distribution of features within this linguistic diffusion area.

Moreover, the independent development of Mennonite Low German over two hundred years of separation from the larger Continental West Germanic dialect continuum arguably motivates specific attention to these varieties, as well. Given the possibility of divergent grammatical developments, whether due to language-internal or language-external (i.e. contact-induced) factors, arising within individual Mennonite Low German speech communities during this period of separation, it would appear necessary to devote particular attention in studies of Mennonite Low German to aspects of dialectal variation in order to permit accurate comparison between related varieties and with other West Germanic languages. Indeed, the relative isolation of historically-related Mennonite Low German speech communities from one other and from related varieties of West Germanic has led some researchers (e.g. Kaufmann 2003b; Hooge 1991) to suggest that such communities present ideal conditions for studies of language change in progress, comparable among the Germanic languages to the sociolinguistic environments presented by speech communities of Yiddish or Pennsylvania German (cf. Kaufmann 2003b: 139; Thiessen 2000: 157).

Both the sociolinguistic status of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* within individual speech communities, then, as well as the degree of independent grammatical and lexical development found in the varieties each community maintains, would appear relevant to ascertaining the status of Mennonite Low German among the Continental West Germanic languages. In his discussion of the classification of Mennonite Low German within West Germanic, Nieuweboer (1999) proposes that Mennonite Low German be considered "an exocentric roofless language variety in the process of developing from a Low German dialect into a separate West Germanic language" (250) – that is, a variety of Low German at once separated from the larger dialect continuum (exocentric) and not recognizing a single standard language with which its forms are expected to comply (roofless), developing into a separate language. While this position is not without controversy (cf. Epp 1993: 96 and Epp 1996: 6, where the status of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* as a dialect of Nether-Prussian Low German is emphasized), it would appear to receive some degree of support from Kanakin and Wall (1992), who suggest that Mennonite Low German, while undoubtedly Nether Prussian Low German in origin, "oversteps generally-accepted bounds of a "normal" German dialect" (cited in Epp 1996: 6). The development of a 'native' Mennonite *Plautdietsch* literary tradition (cf. Loewen & Reimer 1985; Epp 1987: 71-2; Epp 1993: 109-117) and the diminishing role of Standard German in several Mennonite communities (cf. Moelleken 1986; Brandt 1992: 14-18) might be seen as further evidence of the expansion of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* to domains traditionally occupied by other languages with Russian-Mennonite communities. Further linguistic and sociolinguistic inquiry would appear required to determine whether or not Mennonite Low German may merit consideration as an independent member of the Continental West Germanic languages; given the historical circumstances of its development, however, such a hypothesis would appear difficult to dismiss out of hand.

Given the complex sociolinguistic and historical conditions which have shaped its linguistic development, it is perhaps not surprising that Mennonite Low German has received some degree of linguistic attention, albeit primary from Mennonites of Dutch-Russian extraction or their descendants, rather than from the general community of linguists studying the Continental West Germanic languages. Linguistic studies of varieties of Mennonite Low German date back to Quiring (1928), with his diachronically-oriented study of the phonology and morphology of Chortitza Mennonite Low German. More recent diachronic treatments of Mennonite Low German phonology are found in Naiditch (2001; 2005); further discussions of Mennonite Low German phonology and morphology from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives are provided by Goerzen (1950; 1970), Mierau (1964), Jedig (1966), Klassen (1969), Auburger (1977), Buchheit (1978), and Reimer et al. (1983), among others.[4] The historical development of the lexicon of Mennonite Low German has been studied extensively by Wiens (1957), Thiessen (1963; 2000; 2006), Thun (1999), and Kaufmann (2003b), culminating in dictionaries by Rempel (1995) and Thiessen (2003). Comparative dialectological studies are presented by Moelleken (1972) for Chortitza and Molochnaya Mennonites in British Columbia, and Brandt (1992) for varieties of Mexican Mennonite Low German. More recently, the sociolinguistic position of Mennonite Low German within the diglossic and triglossic environment common to most Dutch-Russian Mennonite communities has been investigated by Kloss (1989), Rohkohl (1993), Nieuweboer (1999), and Kaufmann (1997; 2004), presenting valuable information on the social circumstances in which Mennonite Low German exists and on variation in its usage, both within and across speech communities.

---

[4] Less accessible internationally, but no less deserving of consideration, are many thorough studies of Plautdietsch conducted in the former Soviet Union. An overview of these publications is provided in Nieuweboer (1999: 10, fn. 28); their general absence from the studies cited in this section is doubly unfortunate, given both the exceptional quality of many of these works (perhaps particularly those of Hugo Jedig) and the "very difficult circumstances" (Nieuweboer 1999: 10) under which such studies were often conducted in the former Soviet Union.

In light of the considerable attention which has been devoted to the phonological, morphological, lexical, and sociolinguistic features of Mennonite Low German, then, it is noteworthy that similar consideration has generally not been extended to syntactic phenomena, for which comprehensive studies are largely lacking. With the exceptions of Jedig (1969), perhaps the most prominent investigation of Mennonite Low German syntax to date; statistically-oriented overviews of clausal and verbal features presented in Klassen (1969; 1977) and Hooge (1973; 1991); and more recent research by Kaufmann (2003a; 2005) into the sociolinguistic dimensions of variation in verb cluster ordering, syntactic phenomena in Mennonite Low German have been the object of little dedicated study. As Nieuweboer (2000) notes, "in descriptions of the grammar of Plautdiitsch [*sic*], syntax is normally given a small chapter in the best of cases" (125).[5] This dearth of detailed syntactic description, however, is not necessarily indicative of the absence of distinctive syntactic phenomena in Mennonite Low German which would motivate systematic attention: rather, as both Saltveit (1983: 282) and Meier (1978: 290) observe, the traditional emphasis upon phonological and lexical (rather than syntactic) description in the dialectological research which has historically dominated linguistic studies of Low

---

[5] "In Beschreibungen der Grammatik des Plautdiitschen wird der Syntax normalerweise bestenfalls ein kurzes Kapitel gewidmet[.]" (Nieueweboer 2000: 125).

German has likely contributed to the present state of affairs. Thus, in Mennonite Low German as in other Low German dialects, syntactic features remain comparatively underdocumented, and thus represent an area of grammatical organization in which further investigation is required.

1.3. VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION IN MENNONITE LOW GERMAN AND CONTINENTAL WEST GERMANIC. As the preceding section has sought to argue, despite considerable attention having been paid to phonological, morphological, lexical, and general sociolinguistic features of Mennonite Low German, much less consideration would appear to have been given to the syntactic structure of the language, an area of grammatical organization for which extensive, systematic documentation is largely absent, for Mennonite Low German as for other varieties of Low German. This relative scarcity of syntactic documentation may in part be due to the historical emphases of German dialectology upon areal variation in lexical and morpho-phonological phenomena, rather than syntactic features. Nevertheless, its absence from the larger documentary record for the Continental West Germanic languages is unfortunate, as it prevents the inclusion of data from these varieties in cross-linguistic studies of the syntax of this language group, of which Low German represents an important member. Epp (1993: 103-4) offers an estimate of approximately eight million present-day speakers of varieties of Low German, which, if accurate, would suggest that a substantial body of comparative syntactic data relevant to typological research in this language group may be missing from the larger linguistic picture.

This lack of comparative data is acutely felt in studies of the syntax of so-called *verb clusters* in Continental West Germanic languages. Verb clusters refer to sequences of verbs, most often introduced through verbal complementation, which tend to appear close together within the sentence (i.e. they "cluster") and occasionally demonstrate syntactic properties not predicted by either the complementation relations which exist between component verbs or the immediate constructional context (cf. É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004: 1). As the examples introduced earlier in (1) demonstrate, multiple lexical, modal, and auxiliary verbs may acceptably appear together in those instances of verbal complementation which result in verb clusters, occasionally producing "[e]xceptionally large" sequences of verbs (*ibid.*), as would appear to be the case in (1a). It should be noted that none of these features of verb clusters is restricted to a single language or variety, though the details of these features' morphosyntactic instantiation in each variety may vary cross-linguistically. Rather, these 'basic' characteristics of verbal complementation appear to be shared by all Continental West Germanic languages, with Mennonite Low German presenting no exception. Indeed, given the observed frequency of multiple-part predicates in Mennonite Low German (cf. Klassen 1969: 39), and thus of the ubiquity of verbal complementation in the regular syntax of the language, attention to verbal complementation and the properties of resulting verb clusters in treatments of Mennonite Low German syntax would appear well warranted.

In sharp contrast to these common and relatively constant features of verbal complementation is the variation observed, both within and across varieties of Continental West Germanic, in the ordering of verbal complements within the relatively contiguous sequences of verbs which constitute verb clusters. As a brief comparison of examples (1a) and (1b) demonstrates, the cross-linguistic differences in complement order can be striking: whereas Standard German permits the strictly descending order of complements 5-4-3-2 in its verb cluster (i.e. *liegen*$_5$ *bleiben*$_4$ *lassen*$_3$ *können*$_2$ 'be able$_2$ to let$_3$ remain$_4$ lying$_5$', where verb v_n has as its complement v_{n+1}; cf. Wurmbrand 2005: 230), Standard Dutch favours the opposite, strictly ascending 1-2-3-4 order of complements (i.e. *wilde*$_1$ *kunnen*$_2$ *zien*$_3$ *vliegen*$_4$) 'wanted$_1$ to be able$_2$ to see$_3$ fly$_4$'). The mirror-image structure of these two examples should not be misinterpreted as an indication of the full range of variation observed in verb cluster ordering cross-linguistically: as Zwart (2005) notes, a “bewildering variety of orders” (914) is found among the Continental West Germanic languages, despite considerable typological consistency in many other of their common syntactic features.

Moreover, such variation is not relegated to cross-linguistic differences alone: individual languages may permit or prohibit specific orders of complements within individual constructions, as well. Thus, in Standard Dutch, modal$_1$-auxiliary$_2$-participle$_3$ constructions (e.g. *kan*$_1$ *hebben*$_2$ *gezien*$_3$ 'can have seen') license all orders in which the modal precedes the auxiliary (i.e. *kan*$_1$ *hebben*$_2$ *gezien*$_3$, *kan*$_1$ *gezien*$_3$ *hebben*$_2$, *gezien*$_2$ *kan*$_1$ *hebben*$_3$, but not **gezien*$_3$ *hebben*$_2$ *kan*$_1$), while Standard Dutch modal$_1$-modal$_2$-infinitive$_3$ constructions (e.g. *moet*$_1$ *kunnen*$_2$ *werken*$_3$ 'must be able to work') permit *only* the strictly ascending order (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 329). Cross-linguistic surveys of verbal complement orders (e.g. Lötscher 1978; Wurmbrand 2004; Wurmbrand 2006) suggest such variation across constructions to be endemic, rather than exceptional: that is, the "bewildering array of word orders" in Continental West Germanic verbal complementation would appear to be the normal state of affairs, with even "standard" orders such as those summarized above frequently subject to "significant microparametric variation" (Wurmbrand 2006: 231) and prosodic and information-structural factors (cf. Schmid & Vogel 2004) which may license further variation in order.

Cross-linguistic variation in the linear order of verbal complements, as well as in the syntactic 'unithood' of verb clusters themselves (cf. É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004: 1-2), has thus attracted the attention of syntacticians pursuing research into the structure of Continental West Germanic languages, giving rise to an interest in the empirical range of variation observed in verb cluster phenomena in these languages (and, more recently, in Hungarian, as well; cf. É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004). In this regard, documentation of the verbal complementation patterns observed in Mennonite Low German may be of relevance to research in this area, as well, presenting comparative data which might be incorporated into cross-linguistic studies of verb cluster syntax, thus extending the typological record.

In short, verbal complementation would appear to be a phenomenon at the heart of much of common Mennonite Low German syntax, given the prevalence of multiple-part predicates across verbal constructions in the language in the expression of modality and aspect, and thus an area of immediate documentary relevance to studies of the verbal syntax of the language. Verbal complementation assumes further importance as an object of documentation from a cross-linguistic perspective, as typological investigation into variation observed between Continental West Germanic languages in their respective orderings of constituents in verb clusters resulting from verbal complementation remains an area of much active research. The problems posed by such variation in verb cluster syntax, both cross-linguistically and across the verbal constructions of single languages, would appear both complex and multifactorial in nature (cf. Lötscher 1978: 11), and thus potentially of wider interest to research in the documentation and analysis of complex syntactic phenomena in general. The present study therefore concentrates upon documenting the verbal complementation patterns of Mennonite Low German with specific attention to variation across dialects, speakers, and lexical / constructional contexts, adopting for this purpose an annotated corpus of Mennonite Low German as its primary source of data and a constructional approach to analysis, as is discussed in the following chapter. Attention to variational detail in the empirical record of a language would appear to be a basic requirement of *any* substantial linguistic documentation – a requirement of no less importance in the documentation of lesser-studied languages, where analytical practices are themselves often varied and where individual linguistic features, when viewed in their full variational context, may reveal the necessity of finer distinctions or higher-level generalizations within the representations proposed for the linguistic knowledge of speakers than have been proposed to date.

2. METHODOLOGY. For the present investigation of verbal complementation patterns in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, a corpus-based, constructional approach has been adopted. The decision to pursue corpus-based documentation of verbal complementation, a phenomenon commonly viewed as being syntactic in nature, is not without controversy, given the emphasis placed in much of contemporary syntax upon the primacy of native speaker grammaticality judgements and introspection in informing analysis. The present use of corpora in syntactic documentation, while certainly not without precedent, therefore receives specific attention in this section. In order to address methodological issues such as these directly, it is first necessary to consider both the composition and construction of the corpus in question, as well as the constructional framework chosen for analysis as both relate to the larger documentary goals of this study.

2.1. A CORPUS OF MENNONITE LOW GERMAN. The present study adopts as its corpus a synchronic collection of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* texts, comprising materials published between 1972 and 2006 by eight contemporary Canadian Mennonite authors. The presence among these works of several compilations of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* literature (e.g. Reimer et al. 1983) and interviews (e.g. Peters & Thiessen 1990) results in the availability of samples of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* for some 36 different speakers. While the amount of data available in the corpus for each individual represented in the corpus varies considerably – several speakers are represented only by a single text, whether a published biographical interview or a contribution to a collection of writings – the availability of such data may nevertheless be of value in assessing the range of linguistic variation attested across dialect groups and speakers.

Taken together, the works appearing in the present corpus consist of 474,766 raw tokens of written text, including punctuation and occasional short passages in English and Standard German, representing approximately 1,457 pages of printed material. The contribution of each included volume of writings to the overall composition of the corpus is summarized in Table 2.1 below. While not the first corpus of Mennonite Low German – both Klassen (1969, 1977) and Hooge (1973, 1991) present studies which draw upon private corpora developed by each author following independent fieldwork among *Plautdietsch*-speaking Mennonites in western Siberia, with excerpts of the former corpus later appearing in Klassen (1993) – this collection of texts would appear to represent the single largest digital corpus of publicly available Mennonite Low German material assembled to date, providing a source of linguistic data which, given their publication elsewhere, are comparatively open to independent comparison and corroboration.[6] Further supplementing these written data are approximately 83 hours (4,972 minutes) of digital audio and six hours (384 minutes) of digital video recordings of Mennonite Low German, again drawn primarily from published sources. While these audio-visual materials vary substantially in both technical quality, ranging from interviews conducted in relatively noisy settings with consumer-grade magnetic cassette recorders to professional studio recordings of performances of texts; and in the amount of Mennonite

---

[6] The sizeable corpus of Low German assembled by Strunk (2003, 2004) from sources available on the World Wide Web may represent a challenge to this assertion; however, while the Strunk corpus contains examples of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, it is not restricted to samples of this variety alone, with constituent texts having been drawn from several disparate dialects of Low German.

Low German speech present in each source, with several recordings of sermons delivered in Mennonite Low German containing interstitial Standard German or English hymns, they would on the whole appear to be of potential value to future studies of the language, though their consideration here is limited by the constraints of ongoing transcription.

Text Source	Identifier	# Tokens (raw)	# Types (raw)	Tagged ?
Fehr (1994)	JMF1994	29,506 (6.2%)	6,018 (8.7%)	✓
Fehr (2001)	JMF2001	25,198 (5.3%)	4,758 (6.8%)	✓
Fehr (2005)	JMF2005	34,629 (7.3%)	5,675 (8.2%)	✓
Fehr (2006)	JMF2006	30,575 (6.4%)	3,433 (4.9%)	✓
Epp (1972)	RE1972	19,383 (4.1%)	3,944 (5.7%)	✓
Reimer et al. (1983)	RRT1983	58,166 (12.3%)	10,521 (15.1%)	
Peters & Thiessen (1990)	PT1990	143,220 (30.2%)	18,562 (26.7%)	
Loewen (1996)	JAL1996	76,914 (16.2%)	9,602 (13.8%)	
Klassen (2003)	JK2003	57,175 (12.0%)	7,017 (10.1%)	
TOTAL		474,766 (100%)	69,530 (100%) (47,355)	

Table 2.1. Composition of written corpus of Mennonite Low German, with raw word token and word type counts for each component document. The number and proportion of unique types are calculated for each document individually; the number of unique types in the entire written corpus is given in parentheses under the final total.

The task of integrating these diverse materials into a single, consistent corpus poses several immediate technical and linguistic challenges. Orthographic variation presents a potential problem for the effective retrieval of relevant data from the corpus: in the nine works which comprise the written subcorpus, variants of at least five distinct orthographies are noted, although certain representational conventions are often common to these spelling systems. No conventions for the assignment of part-of-speech (POS) classifiers to Mennonite *Plautdietsch* data would appear to have been proposed to date;

indeed, no consensus would seem to have been reached among researchers regarding several common morphosyntactic features of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* (e.g. the number of distinct nominal inflectional cases) which may be of importance in the development of an adequate part-of-speech classification system. Neither would software appear to have been developed with which written materials gained through scanning and optical character recognition (OCR) might easily be integrated with further linguistic annotation without sacrificing much of the information gained in earlier stages of processing (e.g. positions of words, sentences, and paragraphs on the printed page).

More generally, while cross-linguistic guidelines have been proposed for the encoding and annotation of corpus resources (e.g. TEI, XCES), few such standards appear to have achieved widespread adoption in current corpus construction, arguably diminishing the benefits anticipated in their adoption. Many important decisions pertaining to the design and implementation of corpora, then, remain essentially at the discretion of the individual corpus designer. In this instance, efforts have been made to follow what would appear to be a general trend in contemporary corpus design in attempting to minimize dependency upon proprietary software and standards wherever possible in the corpus construction process, favouring instead open-source tools and 'open' standards (e.g. Unicode, XML) for the production, processing, and representation of structured linguistic data. While this rule of thumb admittedly still leaves much to the corpus designer to decide, it nevertheless would appear to encourage a technically flexible representation of corpus data, one which might be readily adapted to meet the requirements of future corpus encoding conventions.

These technical requirements and linguistic considerations guided much of the construction of the present corpus, which proceeded over the course of 2007 with the technical assistance of the Text Analysis Portal for Research (TAPoR) and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Alberta. The nine volumes of Mennonite Low German text incorporated into the written corpus were selected both for their general availability – all represent published materials which have been made available for purchase – and for their representation of a range of text genres and varieties of Mennonite Low German. While varieties spoken in Canada predominate in these works, there nevertheless exists substantial variation between the dialects of the selected authors, in large part due to the divergent histories of the authors' or their ancestors' immigration to Canada. Several of the authors selected (e.g. Reuben Epp, Molochnaya; Jacob M. Fehr, Chortitza) are the descendants of immigrants who participated in the first wave of Russian Mennonite settlement in North America in the 1870s, and thus demonstrate the distinctive lexical features of these groups (cf. Epp 1993: 90-4); while others (e.g. Victor Peters, Jack Thiessen, Jacob A. Loewen) represent either participants or the descendants of participants in later waves of emigration to Canada following the Russian Revolution, with the linguistic features of their respective varieties differing accordingly.

The representativeness of this selection of authors might reasonably be called into question: the primary authors of these works are, with one exception, male, although several important contributions in the edited volumes are made by female authors and respondents. Neither would it appear possible to guarantee that the varieties represented in this corpus are proportionate to their demographic representation in the Canadian

Mennonite Low German-speaking population: although no statistics appear to exist concerning the distribution of speakers across varieties of Mennonite Low German in Canada, it might be suggested that the present selections underrepresent those varieties spoken by the descendants of 1870s immigrants from the Chortitza Colony (so-called "Old Colony" Mennonite Low German varieties, or *Ooltkolniesch*). These varieties are of considerable linguistic importance to the study of many Central and South American varieties of Mennonite Low German, of which they represent the immediate linguistic ancestors, and which appear to constitute an increasing percentage of the Canadian Mennonite Low German-speaking population, following the recent re-immigration to Canada of considerable numbers of speakers from Central and South America. Such issues of demographic distribution notwithstanding, as a sample of Mennonite Low German as it is written in Canada and open to independent corroboration, the present written corpus would nevertheless appear to have some merit in offering a cross-section of the dialectal variation characteristic of Canadian Mennonite Low German speech communities, and thus ideally some sense of the range of variation which might be expected in further samples of the language.

With this selection of published works, corpus construction proceeded through several stages of digitization, correction, normalization, and annotation, each of which is described in greater detail below. In the first stage of digitization, all printed materials were scanned as B4-size pages using an Epson Expression 1640XL flatbed scanner and stored as 600dpi monochrome TIFF images, which were subsequently edited to extract each printed page as a separate image file from the facing-page scans. Several volumes included sections of greyscale and colour photographs; where judged necessary to the representation of the work as a whole, such sections were additionally scanned in either 8-bit greyscale or 32-bit colour. This resulted in 1505 monochrome TIFF images, each corresponding to a single page in the original printed materials. The monochrome page scans for each document were subsequently imported individually into the OmniPage Pro software package, which performed optical character recognition upon the contents of each image and permitted interactive correction of "uncertain" characters and words.

This process of automatic text recognition and manual correction, while time-consuming, produced representations of each written document both as 'plain' Unicode text and as Unicode XML, the latter containing not only the text elements recognized within the document, but also information on the positions of each character, word, line, and paragraph recognized within the individual page scans. While manual correction of errors introduced by optical character recognition was frequently necessary, this process generally produced texts of acceptable accuracy, with successful recognition rates often improving substantially over the course of processing as the amount of 'training data' available for a given document increased.

The resulting XML representations of these printed materials were subsequently parsed to assign unique numerical identifiers to each character, word, line, paragraph, and page element in each document, and the numbered words then extracted with their unique identifiers into separate XML files for further processing. By maintaining constant identifiers for each word across these separate files, it was possible to preserve references between the original printed document in its digitized form and later stages of linguistic annotation which typically relied upon only a small portion of the information available in the original digitization. Each word in these separate XML files was subsequently tokenized to separate sentential punctuation into distinct units, assigning a separate XML element to each such token.

Having thus produced tokenized Unicode-encoded XML versions of each written document in its original orthography, the challenge of orthographic normalization still remained. Given the substantial variation observed between individual orthographic conventions represented in the corpus, some form of orthographic normalization would appear to be necessary. The sheer number of potential orthographic variants which must be taken into consideration in the absence of a single orthographic standard when constructing corpus searches,[7] as well as the potential detriment to accuracy such variation may incur in later stages of probabilistic part-of-speech tagging both present motivations for the adoption of a standardized orthography.[8] At the same time, however, each orthography may present valuable information on the dialectal (and even sociolinguistic, insofar as orthographic choices might be seen as reflecting traits of the orthographies of other authors and languages) features of the authors who employ it, and thus should arguably not be discarded out of hand.

---

[7] As a brief example, searches for orthographic variants of the word *Kjeaj* 'cows' in the nine documents of the written subcorpus returned no fewer than nine alternatives, namely *Kjeaj*, *Kja*, *Kjä*, *Kjieej*, *Tjeaj*, *Tjä*, *Tjäh*, *Tjäj*, *Tjähj* – with no guarantee, outside of those sections of the corpus for which normalized orthographic representations are available, that these represent the only spellings possible.

[8] Probabilistic methods in part-of-speech tagging typically rely upon the repeated occurrence of identical token-tag pairs to gain statistical evidence for the assignment of further tags. Orthographic variation may thus represent an unintended source of noise in the probabilistic inference of tag assignment patterns, artificially inflating the type count of the corpus by obscuring the underlying lexical identity of orthographically-distinct words.

The selection of an orthographic standard for corpus normalization would appear no less difficult than the technical problems discussed above. Several orthographies for Mennonite Low German have been formally proposed, including Fast (1982), Reimer (1982) and Reimer et al. (1983), Epp (1996), Loewen (1996; 1998), and Heinrichs et al. (2001), with many others appearing in summarized forms as prefaces or appendices to larger works (e.g. in Fehr 1994, 2001, 2005; Rempel 1995; Thiessen 2003) or simply adopted informally without further elaboration. A systematic overview of orthographies of Mennonite Low German is provided by Nieuweboer (1999). While linguistic, sociolinguistic, and aesthetic arguments might be made for the choice of any one of these orthographies over all others, it was decided that the orthographic system set out in Epp (1996) would serve as the basis for corpus normalization, both for the exceptionally clear and thorough nature with which the guidelines of this orthography are presented, as well as for the substantial, 30,000-entry orthographic word list which accompanies it, a feature distinguishing this proposal from many others. Furthermore, as an application to Mennonite *Plautdietsch* of the Sass guidelines for the spelling of Low German, the adoption of the orthography proposed in Epp (1996) might in the future permit more straightforward comparison of the writings found in this corpus with similar data for other varieties of Low German which employ variants of the Sass guidelines, as well.

With this orthography having been chosen for corpus normalization, the issue nevertheless remained of how to ensure consistency in its application, and thus to minimize the degree of error introduced into the corpus in the orthographic normalization process. To this end, a digital word list was constructed from the approximately 30,000 forms published in Epp (1996: 69-167), again by producing monochrome scans of the relevant printed pages and performing optical character recognition upon the resulting images. After correcting OCR errors in the resulting Unicode text, further editing was required to produce a version of this list which was suitable for automated processing, separating each word form onto a separate line (e.g. the entry *Utgang, pl. Utjänj* 'exit, pl. exits' thus becoming *Utgang* and *Utjänj* on separate lines), removing unnecessary grammatical annotation and punctuation (e.g. in the previous example, both the comma and the 'pl.' marker dividing these two entries), and producing separate entries for morphological forms listed in compact form under a shared root (e.g. *Steef/brooda, pl. -breeda* 'step-brother, pl. -brothers' becoming *Steefbrooda* 'step-brother' and *Steefbreeda* 'step-brothers' on separate lines). In addition, all verbs listed were marked according to their inflectional paradigm (e.g. *stelpe(n), stelpd, jestelpt, stelpt* 'to knock over, knocked over, (has) knocked over, knocks over' becoming *stelp{-en}*, with *{-en}* indicating the membership of this verb in the class of regular *-en* verbs; strong and irregular verbs were marked as evidencing distinct inflectional patterns, e.g. *seakje(n), socht, jesocht, seakt* 'to seek, sought, (have) sought, seeks' becoming *{#seakjen}*), all nouns according to their regular plural forms (e.g. *Kruschtje (-s)* 'wild pear (-s)' becoming *Kruschtje[s]*), and all adjectives according to their declension class (e.g. *kurrig* 'easily excitable, pugnacious' becoming *kurr{-ig}*), wherever such information was provided in the original word list.[9]

---

[9] Verbs with separable and inseparable prefixes (e.g. *om-kjremple(n)* 'to curl over' (separable; perfect form *omjekjrempelt* with perfective morpheme *-je-* between prefix and inflected stem), *unja-seakjen* 'to

As well, given regular dialectal variation between Chortitza and Molochnaya varieties affecting the form of the nominal plural ending *-e(n)* and the infinitival ending *-e(n)*, a special marker was introduced to represent these dialectally-variant morphemes (e.g. *Nuade(n)* '(the) north' becoming *Nuad{EN}*).[10]

The result of these revisions was a compressed word list of approximately 13,500 entries individually annotated for their particular inflectional characteristics and dialectal variability. A small program was written to expand this word list to produce all inflectional forms of the annotated words. Thus, for each verb in the list, the full set of inflected forms predicted by its morphological class was produced; for each noun, the full set of plural forms; and for each adjective, all of its possible inflected forms. This provided two lists, one for each of the classes of varieties noted above, each containing slightly over 69,000 inflected word forms. These were subsequently integrated as dictionaries into the open-source spell-checking framework aspell, thus making all

---

examine' (inseparable prefix; perfect form *unjasocht* without perfect morpheme between prefix and inflected stem) required further coding not discussed here.

[10] This particular case of morphophonological variation between "Chortitza" and "Molochnaya" speakers may in fact be less consistently associated with colonial origin than these commonly-used labels suggest; cf. Nieuweboer 2000: 120. Regardless of its source or present distribution, however, this morphophonological feature appears to represent a salient dialectal marker distinguishing varieties of Mennonite Low German – one which has produced commentary within Mennonite Low German speaking communities themselves, where forms of the maxim *wi schmäaren onse Koarendäaren, daut se nich knoaren woaren, oba dee schmäare äahre Koaredäare, daut se nich knoare woare* 'we grease our car doors so that they won't creak (*-en* dialect), but they grease their car doors so that they won't creak (*-e* dialect)' poke wry humour at this dialectal divide.

orthographic word forms in the Epp (1996) system available for automatic reference throughout the normalization process. Again making use of the unique identifiers available for individual tokens in the corpus, copies of the tokenized XML documents containing the original orthographic text were made and normalization performed on their contents with the help of the automated spell-checking system. Thus, all orthographic normalization on these separate documents resulted in a parallel set of tokens which maintained unambiguous references to both the original authorial spellings and the structure of the document on the printed page.

Given the considerable time investment required for orthographic normalization, even with the aid of interactive spelling correction, only the first five works in the written corpus (i.e. JMF1994, JMF2001, JMF2005, JMF2006, and RE1972) were standardized. These composition of these documents, the orthographically-normalized subcorpus, is summarized in Table 2.2 below. Taken together, these texts represent 124,028 tokens of Mennonite Low German text, or a little under one third (29.3%) of the entire corpus, and thus arguably offer a reasonable starting point for further linguistic annotation and analysis. While much of the present study concentrates upon these data in particular, it should be noted that the remaining two-thirds of the corpus remain accessible for comparison, corroboration, and reference within the present analysis (cf. section 3.8), though their use in quantitative procedures which depend upon orthographic normalization is necessarily limited.

Having developed an orthographically consistent selection of texts, then, the next stage in the construction of the present corpus involved the tagging of individual tokens for their membership in part-of-speech (POS) classes. Such information is frequently of considerable use in linguistic analysis, as it permits the reliable extraction from the corpus of *all* tokens of a particular lexical type (e.g. all verbs, all plural nouns, etc.) without requiring the inflected forms of these tokens to be specified in advance. Moreover, such information on lexical classes can be combined with existing search procedures which exploit both linear and hierarchical relations between elements in the document, offering greater precision (e.g. to retrieve all nouns which appear before a particular verb (linear relationship) within a sentence (hierarchical relationship)). When the chosen tags incorporate information not only about lexical classes – nouns and verbs, for instance – but also individual inflectional categories within these classes – the person, tense, and number of finite verbs, for example, or the number and case of count nouns – the exactness of corpus searches might be further improved and finer-grained statistics garnered on the overall frequency of these linguistic features, which may be of relevance in quantitatively demonstrating distinctive inflectional characteristics of constructions in which these inflected forms appear. The potential benefits to later analysis of such annotation would thus appear to be substantial, and arguably merit the effort required in their development.

Much as in the case of orthographic normalization, the lack of an established standard for part-of-speech assignment in Mennonite Low German presents an immediate challenge to further annotation. In contrast to orthographic normalization, however, where proposals for spelling systems abound, no tagsets would appear to have been developed to date for Mennonite Low German. Consequently, an application of the larger Münster Tagset for Standard German (*Münsteraner Tagset / Deutsch*, or MT/D; Steiner 2003) was developed to Mennonite Low German, eliminating features from the tagset such as marking for a distinct genitive case (which would appear to have been preserved only in a limited set of fixed expressions) and subjunctive verbal mood (which is formally indistinguishable from indicative preterite verb forms; cf. Jedig 1966: 106) to produce a 99-entry tagset, reproduced here as Appendix A. Tagging conventions were largely those of the MT/D; while further refinements to the tagset in its use with Mennonite Low German remain, the application of these tags to the present corpus data was largely without issue.

Text Source	Identifier	# Tokens (norm.)	# Types (norm.)	TTR
Fehr (1994)	JMF1994	24,023 (19.4%)	4,857 (22.6%)	0.202
Fehr (2001)	JMF2001	21,765 (17.5%)	4,267 (19.8%)	0.196
Fehr (2005)	JMF2005	32,325 (26.1%)	5,531 (25.7%)	0.171
Fehr (2006)	JMF2006	29,784 (24.0%)	3,765 (17.5%)	0.126
Epp (1972)	RE1972	16,131 (13.0%)	3,095 (14.4%)	0.192
		124,028 (100%)	21,515 (100%) (10,277)	0.174 (0.083)

Table 2.2. Composition of orthographically normalized subcorpus, presenting numbers and proportions of types and tokens in each document, as well as the per-document type-to-token ratio (TTR). Types are calculated for each document individually; the number of types in the entire written corpus is given in parentheses under the column total.

A probabilistic tagger, Qtag (Tufis & Mason 1998), was used to apply this tagset to the orthographically-normalized subcorpus. As with many other language-independent, pure probabilistic taggers, Qtag operates in two phases: first, in the training phase, a section of corpus data to which correct POS tags have been assigned is provided to the tagger, which produces a statistical model of the distribution of tag sequences across series of tokens. In the second phase, this model is applied to untagged corpus data, with the statistically most probable series of tags being assigned the sequences of tokens encountered. Since no minimum amount of correctly-tagged training data is required for the initial inference of tag assignment probabilities (though the accuracy of tag assignment would generally appear to increase with the amount of correctly-tagged training data available), it is possible to adopt an iterative process of training, tagging, and manual correction: beginning with a section of *n* correctly-tagged tokens as training data, the next *n* tokens in the corpus may be tagged automatically and any errors in the resulting tag assignments corrected by hand, thus producing *2n* correctly-tagged tokens as input to the next round of tagging. This procedure was applied to the present corpus, with a small program being written to integrate the XML source files with Qtag, which operates on tag-token sequences only. While initial tag assignment accuracy for 500-token sections of the corpus was somewhat low (< 56%), overall accuracy gradually increased as more corrected data became available to the probabilistic model, achieving rates close to 75% after 124,000 tokens.[11]

This iterative process of training, tagging, and correction presented an additional opportunity to review previous stages of corpus encoding, and thus to correct inconsistencies in the corpus not identified earlier. While reviewing each section of the corpus, it was also possible to insert hierarchical document structure markers into the

---

[11] Accuracy rates as high as 79.3% were observed after tagging the first 107,000 tokens in the subcorpus, all of which represented the works of a single author. However, the introduction of RE1972, written by another author in another dialect, caused accuracy to decrease slightly as the number of unfamiliar word forms (i.e. new types) rose.

XML sources which demarcated both individual texts (indicating for each text whether it represented prose or verse, and whether or not it was translated from another language, where this was indicated in the source material) and individual sentences (corresponding approximately to orthographic sentences ending in full stops, question marks, and exclamation points in the case of prose; and to lines delineated either by rhyme scheme or by their structure on the original printed page in verse). At the same time, tokens not appearing in Mennonite Low German were marked with the ISO 639-3 code for their respective language. Longer sections of non-Mennonite Low German text (e.g. English-language introductions or stories appearing in otherwise predominantly Mennonite Low German volumes) were indicated as being unrelated to the inference of a probabilistic model of part-of-speech tag assignment for Mennonite Low German proper, as were certain individual tokens (such as page numbers, which, from the perspective of the probabilistic tagger, appear interspersed essentially at random amidst sequences of other tokens, thus presenting a source of "noise" not of immediate relevance to the present aims of tagging). The process of iterative probabilistic tagging thus resulted not only in the assignment of part-of-speech tags to the entire orthographically-normalized subcorpus, but also in the introduction of hierarchical document structure and basic annotations for written genre and token language throughout.

The resulting texts, referred to here as the *tagged subcorpus*, represent the primary focus of the analysis undertaken in this study. A synopsis of the composition of these texts by genre (i.e. prose or verse) and translation status (i.e. translated or not translated) is given in Table 2.3 below. Several traits of the tagged subcorpus might be inferred from this table: first, it may be noted that most texts appear not to be translated, with less than two percent of all tokens occurring in translated sources, and those examples which *are* translated appear overwhelmingly in verse, where they represent 6.1% of all tokens. Thus, there would appear to be comparatively little translated text in the corpus, though its consideration as a distinct entity would seem justified. Second, it is observed that the works in the tagged subcorpus vary in their relative proportions of verse to prose: RE1972, for instance, contains a considerable amount of verse, representing a full third of all tokens in this source; while JMF2006, a collection of Bible stories, contains no verse at all. Despite this variation in genres across works, prose text would nevertheless appear to predominate, with 83.4% of all tagged tokens belonging to this category. The tagged subcorpus thus offers a heterogeneous sample of written Mennonite Low German which would appear characterized by the prevalence of original prose text, a genre presumably closer to the typical patterns of spoken language than the rhyme-structured stanzas which comprise much of the sampled verse.

Identifier	Verse			Prose		
	Original	Translated	Total	Original	Translated	Total
JMF1994	3,693	112	3,805	19,699	0	19,699
	(97.1%)	(2.9%)	(16.2%)	(100%)	(0%)	(83.8%)
JMF2001	5,459	324	5,783	15,359	0	15,359
	(94.4%)	(5.6%)	(27.4%)	(100%)	(0%)	(72.6%)
JMF2005	4,928	229	5,157	25,335	637	25,972
	(95.6%)	(4.4%)	(16.6%)	(97.5%)	(2.5%)	(83.4%)
JMF2006	0	0	0	28,593	0	28,593
	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(100%)	(0%)	(100%)
RE1972	4,587	555	5,142	10,289	0	10,289
	(89.2%)	(10.8%)	(33.3%)	(100%)	(0%)	(66.7%)
TOTAL	18,667	1,220	19,887	99,275	637	99,912
	(93.9%)	(6.1%)	(16.6%)	(99.4%)	(0.6%)	(83.4%)

Table 2.3. Composition of the tagged subcorpus by genre and translation status of texts.

All counts presented are of tagged tokens; percentages of original and translated text are given for tokens within each genre (i.e. percentage translated and untranslated verse, percentage translated and untranslated prose), while the percentages of the total number of tagged tokens refer to both original and translated tokens (i.e. overall percentage verse, overall percentage prose, regardless of translation status within each genre).

While the tagged subcorpus presents a range of different text types within the general categories of prose and verse, less representation would appear to be provided of the cross-varietal differences found in the language. Indeed, the decision to restrict the set of texts comprising the tagged subcorpus to the works of two authors, namely Jacob M. Fehr (JMF) and Reuben Epp (RE), may appear at first blush to represent a significant weakness of the present sample. This decision might be defended on both technical and practical grounds, however: the probabilistic methods which were applied to produce the tagged subcorpus rely upon consistency of tag-token mappings across texts to develop accurate statistical models of tag assignment patterns. Common dialectal variation which results in formal differences between semantically-equivalent tokens (e.g. *moake* (Molochnaya) vs. *moaken* (Chortitza) 'to make') therefore has the potential to cause tagging accuracy rates to decrease, as was observed when tagging RE1972, thus rendering the corpus construction process more time-consuming and consequently limiting the amount of text which might be tagged within the time allotted to corpus development and taken into consideration in later quantitative analysis.

Moreover, the selection of these two authors in particular for inclusion in the tagged subcorpus might be defended, as well. While both authors appear to have much in common – both were born and raised in Saskatchewan as native speakers of Mennonite Low German, and both are of approximately the same generation – several notable differences exist between their respective varieties. The ancestors of Reuben Epp emigrated from the Molochnaya colony to Nebraska and Minnesota in the 1870s (cf. Epp 1972: 3), later moving to the area of the former Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve in central Saskatchewan, where the author was raised; while the ancestors of Jacob M. Fehr emigrated from the Chortitza colony to the area near Gretna, Manitoba in the 1870s, later moving to the Mennonite settlements near Swift Current in southwestern Saskatchewan (cf. Fehr 1994: 80). Given the characteristic morphological and phonological differences traditionally assumed to distinguish the varieties once spoken in the Molochnaya and Chortitza colonies, it is not surprising to find similar features differentiating the varieties represented in the works of both authors. Thus, the writings of these two authors represent Saskatchewan Mennonite Low German in two of its most prominent forms – those varieties maintained by the descendants of Molochnaya Mennonites on the one hand, and those preserved in the speech of the descendants of Chortitza Mennonites on the other – and might therefore serve in further analysis as demographically comparable but dialectally divergent speakers, facilitating cross-varietal comparison. While it must be conceded that more subtle differences observed between the syntactic features of both authors' writings are difficult to establish conclusively on the basis of the tagged subcorpus alone as being the result of dialectal variation, rather than of authorial hand, the availability of the larger, untagged subcorpus, as well as other samples of published Mennonite Low German not included in the present corpus, might be brought to bear upon the problem of corroborating such results to demonstrate that the observed syntactic patterns are characteristic not only of these authors' individual use of Mennonite Low German, but potentially of the patterns of their respective dialect groups, as well.

Indeed, while the limited sample of cross-dialectal variation found in the tagged subcorpus necessarily limits the generality which can be claimed for the results presented in later analysis, there would seem little reason to assume *a priori* that either author diverges so wildly from the linguistic norms of his respective dialect group to render him an unfitting representative of his speech community. On the contrary, the acceptance of both authors within the wider Russian Mennonite community would appear to speak for their compliance, at least within the written medium, with some set of linguistic expectations held by their audiences. Reuben Epp has been widely acknowledged, both within Mennonite circles and elsewhere, as a respected author (cf. Reimer et al. 1983: 4), scholar (cf. Epp 1993: verso), and speaker (cf. Peters & Thiessen 1990: 137) of Mennonite Low German. In particular, the popularity of his first *Plautdietsch*-language publication, Epp (1972), led not only to multiple reprintings of this work, reproduction of selections in other volumes (e.g. De Fehr et al. 1974; Epp & Wiebe 1977; Reimer et al. 1983) and commercially successful audio recordings of the same, but also to *samizdat* copies being transliterated into Cyrillic and circulated among Mennonites in Siberia prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Reuben Epp, p.c.). Similarly, the works of Jacob M. Fehr would appear to have found linguistic acceptance in the broader Mennonite community (cf. Fehr 2005: 2-3), as evidenced in the continued serial publication of his writings in the Russian Mennonite newspaper, *Die Mennonitische Post*. While not strictly confirmative of their representativeness as speakers, such acceptance within linguistically sensitive Russian Mennonite communities would appear to provide at least tentative support for the treatment of both authors as comparable members of their respective speech communities within the present study, pending empirical confirmation or refutation of this position through comparison with further data.

While the results of such a sample thus must necessarily be treated with a degree of circumspection, the comparable demography and general acceptance of both authors within Mennonite Low German-speaking communities in Canada and abroad provide ample motivation for the use of samples of their writings for an initial comparison of 1870s Molochnaya and Chortitza Mennonite Low German as spoken in Saskatchewan. It is not contested here that there may be other forms of the language – variation running along sociolectal, geographical, confessional or other lines – not represented in the present sample, and that their omission may introduce an unfortunate degree of distortion into picture of the language provided. This would appear to represent a risk inherent in the use of *any* finite sample of language in analysis, however, and thus to linguistics as a whole, though the gravity of this problem would seem no less acutely felt in documentary and descriptive linguistic tasks than elsewhere in linguistics. It is insisted here, however, that the works of these two authors, both of whom demonstrate the distinctive morphophonological dialectal features characteristic of their ancestors' respective emigration histories, are not unreasonable places to begin an examination of the language, given the acceptance and public availability of these publications. Additional publicly-available audio recordings of selections of works presented by both authors might be introduced in consideration of problems raised in later analyses of these data, as well, as might published interviews (e.g. Peters & Thiessen 1990). The present study therefore treats differences in the verbal complementation patterns of both authors as potentially indicative of broader patterns of syntactic variation between varieties of Saskatchewan Mennonite Low German, and thus potentially of other, historically-related varieties as well, taking caution to emphasize that the distribution of such variation across speakers and speech communities remains, beyond what attestation those texts comprising the untagged subcorpus provide, a matter of further empirical investigation.

Similar arguments might be raised against the adoption of a corpus-based approach to the description of verbal complementation which this study undertakes. As the primary object of inquiry has most commonly been viewed as syntactic in nature, corpus-based methods of description and analysis would appear open to the theoretical and practical arguments advanced (a.o.) in Chomksy (1957) against the use of finite corpora in syntactic research, which have been suggested to provide, in the case of relatively rare but otherwise acceptable syntactic structures, only limited evidence of patterns of grammaticality.[12] This problem of sparseness is of potential relevance not only to corpus-based studies, but also to analyses of various methodologies which are concerned with determining the bounds of grammaticality or acceptability of individual constructions, as is frequently a goal of both generativist and non-generativist syntactic inquiry. In many cases, the sparseness of a given construction's representation in the available corpora present motivation for other forms of data collection (e.g. formal and informal gathering of grammaticality judgements, questionnaires, surveys, etc.) which target the constructions of interest in greater detail, attempting, in the case of controlled experimental paradigms, to hold constant those factors hypothesized by the researcher to have an effect upon the selection or rating of individual instances of said construction. Indeed, such methods would appear have been applied to good effect in much existing research into verbal complementation in Continental West Germanic (cf. Wurmbrand 2006), providing valuable evidence for the cross-linguistic distribution of the relevant constructions in forms rarely encountered in collections of naturally-occurring language (cf. Bech 1955: 64).

---

[12] As Yang (2008: 206) observes, however, the criticisms raised by Chomsky do not preclude the use of corpora in generativist research – indeed, several later works by Chomsky explicitly refer to the role which corpora might play in providing probabilistic evidence of use in determining the form of presumedly categorical syntactic competence – and thus should not be interpreted as a blanket injunction against their application in generative grammar.

Neither the usefulness of these other forms of data collection nor the importance of their role in linguistic analysis is contested here: when the explicit goal of linguistic inquiry is the characterization of possible and impossible linguistic patterns, as would often appear be the case in generativist research, or the documentation of acceptable, felicitous instances of a given construction as contrasted with less acceptable or more infelicitous instances of the same in descriptive research, and the construction(s) of interest are of low observed frequency, such methods may be entirely justifiable. Indeed, nothing would appear to prevent these other methods of data collection from finding applications within analyses compatible with the corpus-based methodology adopted in the present study: corpus data on verbal complementation patterns might readily be supplemented with further information on the acceptability ratings of individual instances of verbal complementation constructions, or with additional instances of complex verbal complementation rarely attested in the corpus data, or experimental data of other kinds, presenting avenues of inquiry from which such research might benefit.

It would seem evident, however, that these alternative methods, too, return at most finite samples of language, despite their ostensibly more robust representation of the construction or constructions under consideration. Regardless of the theoretical interpretation of such finite samples, the resulting analyses, when attempting to predict patterns of acceptability or attestation beyond those noted in the observed instances, would appear vulnerable to the same fundamental problem of inductive reasoning, a problem which they share with corpus linguistic methods. That is, there is little guarantee, beyond that which might be provided by probabilistic argumentation or presumed in initial deductive assumptions, that the acceptability judgements or other observational data gathered from a finite number of linguistic acts representing distinct speakers, speech communities, sociolinguistic conditions, discourse-pragmatic goals and lexically-instantiated constructions should hold generally for the larger population of speakers, contexts, communities, and instances of the same constructions *not* represented in the given sample.[13] The problem of induction would appear no less relevant to these other forms of data collection than it would to corpus linguistic methods: while reliance upon elicitation of constructional instances or metalinguistic judgements within a particular experimental paradigm might serve to expand upon existing stores of data (and indeed, provide negative evidence which is ostensibly lacking from most corpora[14]), such methods are not immune to many of the same problems which face corpus-based analysis generally.

---

[13] The adoption of a deductive, rather than inductive, methodology in analysis might be argued to present one principled means of avoiding Hume's problem of induction as it applies to linguistic research (cf. Seuren 2004). Deductive methods supported by elicited linguistic or metalinguistic data, however, would appear no less vulnerable to the variability of such judgements observed across speakers, speech communities, and sociolinguistic, discourse-pragmatic, and lexical contexts: if deductive assumptions are to be proven or disproven by means of individual linguistic observations – acceptable and

One potential advantage of a corpus-based approach over other methodologies of data collection might be found in consideration of the observer's paradox. In elicitation tasks entailing either the direct (in the case of linguistic or metalinguistic data gathered through spoken interaction or through introspection on the part of the researcher herself) or indirect (in the case of similar data gathered through surveys, questionnaires, or

---

unacceptable constructional instances, for example – and these observations are fundamentally variable across speakers and contexts, then these assumptions might variably fail or succeed to be disproven, contingent upon probabilistic factors of the contexts under which data were won. While this clearly does not rule out the application of deductive methods – an inconsistent result can be hypothesized to be due to the interaction of two or more factors conflated in the initial general assumptions, for instance, and these separate factors then explored deductively – the basic problem of *when* to reject an initial deductive hypothesis and how to defend its rejection, given variable evidence and little recourse to inductive methods of reasoning by which one might establish a measure of certainty on the basis of previous observations, would seem to the present author to be no less difficult than that of induction.

[14] It might be argued, however, that collections of acceptability judgements, as commonly provided as the basis for argumentation in much syntactic research, might be viewed as another kind of corpus, namely one of metalinguistic judgements elicited under more or less controlled experimental conditions from a number of speakers representing different speech communities, contexts, etc., and thus subject to the same constraints upon generalization as any other finite sample of language.

otherwise planned interactions) involvement of the researcher, the same control which permits such methods to be effective in retrieving data on comparatively infrequent constructions at once has the potential of introducing unintended interference on the part of the researcher upon subjects' responses. That is, the same constructed linguistic environment which limits the range of potential responses may render elicitation problematic from the perspective of ecological validity: the data furnished through such interactions may exhibit undue influence from the presence of the researcher, by the participants' individual relationships with her, by the conditions and medium in which elicitation takes place, by the design of the elicitation task itself, and any number of other possible factors which may shape the responses in ways not intended by the researcher. The observer's paradox – the disturbance of the observed behaviour by the process of observation itself – is certainly not a new problem within linguistics (or indeed, within the social sciences, in general), but remains a thorny one for data gathering paradigms such as elicitation where the linguist is actively involved in shaping the conditions which are intended to produce the desired linguistic behaviour. In this respect, corpus-based methodologies, in which the data under consideration were not produced under the influence of the researcher, might avoid this problem to some extent: while the selection of corpus data for analysis remains a point of potential interference on the part of the researcher into the results of analysis, naturally-occurring linguistic data stemming from sources not originally intended for linguistic analysis might provide valuable information largely free of the 'skew' which might otherwise be introduced through active involvement in data production.

Given the documentary aims of the present study and the largely undescribed state of Mennonite Low German verbal complementation patterns, it would appear altogether defensible to begin such work with consideration of data which were produced without the influence of the researcher and which appear to have found acceptance in their source communities as "authentic" examples of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*. That is, the descriptive goals of the present study motivate initial and primary consideration of naturally-occurring data in ascertaining patterns of verbal complementation. These patterns might subsequently be explored through further quantitative and qualitative investigation, whether through comparison of the results of this analysis with data from additional corpora of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, or through experimental elicitation tasks designed to isolate particular aspects of verbal complementation syntax and provide information about them in greater quantity and detail. While the latter methods incur the cost of independence of observation and, to some degree, of ecological validity, they nevertheless might be justified as possible means of understanding regularities in the structure of the language which are perceived by speakers to be present, but for which corpus attestations are limited. While care must be taken to interpret the results of analysis on any such finite sample of language with a degree of circumspection, given the limits which necessarily exist upon the empirical certainty with which such an analysis might be presumed to generalize appropriately to further, as of yet unseen contexts, the adoption of a corpus-based methodology would appear eminently well suited to the double-edged challenge of documentary linguistics, which must give due attention both to the fine detail of variation observed in the available data, as well as to the broader patterns within which such variation occurs. In supporting independently replicable quantitative and qualitative analyses of such patterns in data of comparatively favourable ecological validity, a corpus-based approach to the study of verbal complementation would appear appropriate for the descriptive task at hand.

2.2. CONSTRUCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION. Having sought in the previous section to introduce and describe in some detail the corpus adopted for the present study, attempting to weigh and ultimately defend its selection, both as the primary source of data on verbal complementation considered in this work and as a reasonable representation of written Canadian Mennonite Low German in several of its most prominent dialectal forms, it remains to be discussed by what means the corpus data this collection of texts provides will be analyzed. This section therefore aims to present arguments favouring the adoption of a constructional methodology to the analysis of the selected corpus data, following both the recommendations of recent literature concerning the empirical study of verb cluster constructions in the Continental West Germanic languages and those arguments offered for non-reductionist constructional syntactic analysis in Croft (2001) and Goldberg (2006), particularly as these relate to the task of linguistic documentation.

In the first instance, it would appear necessary to defend attention being paid to the syntactic phenomena comprising verbal complementation at the level of the individual construction and its attested instantiations in the corpus, rather than wholly to the abstract, high-level, regular structure which such phenomena might be analyzed to have. Indeed, verbal complementation phenomena, and in particular those phenomena related to so-called verb clusters in the Continental West Germanic languages, have been argued by some (e.g. Seuren 2004) as presenting an example *par excellence* of regular, autonomous-computational syntactic competence, given the purportedly severe violations of form-meaning iconicity frequently incurred by such clusters and the apparent ease with which consistencies in the linear ordering and morphosyntactic marking of their constituents might be represented under assumption of a single underlying structure from which such clusters are derived. Arguing against Radical Construction Grammar and in favour of a transformational approach to the analysis of German verb clusters, Seuren (2004) expresses the view that such clusters, on the constructional view, resemble at best

> a hodge-podge of constituents devoid of any semantic coherence, the opposite of what one could possibly wish to call 'iconic'. The elements that belong together semantically are dispersed all over the sentence, sometimes with inappropriate morphological marking (...), without any intonational unit showing them to be semantically associated, and without any information-structural factor overriding criteria of constructional unity. (Seuren 2004: 626)

This deviance from expected morphosyntactic behaviour and form-meaning iconicity are seen by Seuren to have “disastrous consequences” (625) for the kind of constructional syntactic analysis proposed by Croft (2001), and, by extension, to constructional approaches to syntactic analysis as a whole. Taken together with the derivational analysis of German verb clustering offered by Seuren (which, to its credit, appears to capture several important regularities in the linear order and morphological marking of

Standard German verb cluster constituents), these observations are viewed as damning evidence against the pursuit of similar analyses within constructional frameworks of syntax, manifesting "with exceptional clarity the sort of data and the sort of argument that have led to the modularity view of linguistic competence, a view that requires specialized non-trivial algorithmic computation and is incompatible with the notion of grammar as a part of general psychology" (Seuren 2004: 634).

While Croft's subsequent defence of Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2004a) and his own concise, constructional analysis of the same clustering phenomena would suggest that clustering may pose less difficulty, conceptually as well as practically, to constructional syntactic analysis than Seuren (2004) has claimed, a more general question pertinent to analysis in both frameworks remains. If such clustering phenomena might be described adequately in terms of either abstract syntactic schemata (on the constructional view) or general derivational processes (on one transformational view) alone, what role remains for the analysis of individual, lexically-specified instances of such structures? If overarching regularities might be demonstrated to account for all morphosyntactic features of all instances of verb clusters, then their formal representation might with some justification be reduced to that of other, more general constructions or derivational processes, barring any further theoretical arguments supporting their independence, and this aspect of verbal complementation then treated essentially as epiphenomenal.

However attractive such 'single mechanism' explanations of Continental West Germanic verbal complementation may be, given apparent regularities in the morphosyntactic features of complementation in many such languages, proposals of this nature would not appear to be borne out with consistency in empirical research. Recent typological studies of verb cluster constructions in Continental West Germanic languages (e.g. Wurmbrand 2004, 2006) reveal not only morphosyntactic traits common to such constructions in many such languages, but also critical differences in the constructional environments in which particular morphosyntactic features are licensed. In her extensive survey of such constructions, Wurmbrand (2006) observes that verb clusters may vary considerably in the orders in which they permit their constituents to appear, with licit orders depending not only upon the class and number of verbs involved – a cluster consisting of a modal verb and its complement infinitive (e.g. *muß essen* 'must eat') may license constituent orders not permitted in a cluster consisting of an auxiliary verb and a complement participle (e.g. *hat gegessen* 'has eaten'), as is indeed the case in varieties of Swiss German and West Flemish (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 326, 331) – but also potentially upon their participation in negation, passivization, or particular tense-aspect marking combinations (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 240). Given the pervasiveness of this variation within and across languages of this subgroup, Wurmbrand concludes that

> it is obvious from the [*cross-linguistic – CDC*] distribution ... that verb-cluster formation cannot be seen as a simple rule or operation that arranges verbs in multiple-verb constructions according to some language-specific hierarchical schema (such as 'the lowest verb precedes / follows the n-highest verb'). Rather, the distribution of verbal elements is crucially dependent on the type of construction. ... Thus, an account of the distribution of word orders in multiple

> verb constructions has to take into account the language-specific and construction-specific nature of this phenomenon. (Wurmbrand 2006: 241)

Attention to constructional detail, as found in variation in the morphosyntactic characteristics of individual instances of verbal complementation constructions, would thus appear to be of critical importance, both to the empirically adequate description of these constructions' syntactic behaviour and to the success of continued typological research in this area. In this regard, non-reductionist constructional syntactic frameworks, such as those proposed by Croft (2001) and Goldberg (2006), would appear well suited to the needs of documentation, permitting the expression of both high-level 'schematizations' of productive patterns as well as more fine-grained lexical and semantic features with a single theoretical device. Adopting the construction – the unique, language-specific pairing of form and meaning – as their basic unit of analysis, constructional approaches to syntax commonly hold that traditional aspects of syntactic analysis such as constituency, syntactic relations, subcategorization information, and lexical categories are defined by constructional context, rather than the reverse. That is, on the constructional view, syntactic competence consists not in derivational relationships holding between underlyingly identical abstract structures, but rather in learned, language-specific form-function pairings which are constrained only by the linguistic experience of the learner and general properties of human perception and cognition (cf. Croft 2001: 363-4). Such theories are non-reductionist, in that constructions are not considered to be the result of compositional processes operating upon their component elements alone, but rather to consist in meronymic structures defined by the relationship of parts to the construction as a whole. Logical and methodological arguments for this view of syntax are presented in Croft (2001, 2004b); while the purpose of the present study is not to offer a defence of these perspectives on syntax beyond what is required to defend the appropriateness of their use in descriptive linguistics, it should be noted that such critical examinations have been presented in the literature on construction grammar, and deserve individual attention (cf. Croft 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Seuren 2004).

From the perspective of descriptive and documentary linguistics, constructional approaches to syntactic analysis such as those noted above have the benefit of admitting usage data, and thus corpus evidence, into analysis as instantiations or exemplars of constructions. This permits both detailed examinations of individual exemplars, as well as the proposal of higher-level generalizations or groupings which may exist between sets of exemplars on the basis of shared morphosyntactic or semantic features, encouraging a 'bottom-up' approach to syntactic analysis in which variation and fine distributional detail are given immediate attention. Moreover, the demonstrated practical success of such constructional methodologies in the analysis of corpus data pertaining to other complex syntactic-semantic phenomena, such as resultative constructions in English and German (cf. Boas 2003), is heartening, and would appear to suggest that similar constructional approaches may indeed be viable in descriptive linguistics.

The selection of a theoretical framework in which to express those regularities and irregularities identified in the analysis of corpus data, then, is at once an important and controversial decision in descriptive linguistics, and the selection here of a constructional framework no less so. While recent typological research has asserted the necessity of increased attention to constructional contexts in order to permit accurate cross-linguistic comparison of the morphosyntactic characteristics of Continental West Germanic verbal complementation, this clearly does not rule out the adoption of a derivational framework capable of expressing the same fine distinctions between verbal classes and construction types. The choice of a constructional framework for analysis here is motivated in part by the relatively small theoretical apparatus it presumes, namely the construction, which permits both the regular and productive and the irregular and semi-productive aspects of linguistic contexts to be represented with a single theoretical device. This decision is further prompted by the documentary aims of this work, which seeks first and foremost to present the identified linguistic patterns in such a way that they might remain as close to the source data as necessary for an empirically adequate and perspicuous account of the syntactic phenomena under investigation, attempting to balance the need for abstraction in accounting for syntactic productivity with the requirement of defending this abstraction with sufficient empirical evidence, giving full attention to variation and idiosyncrasy where present within the identified productive patterns.

While the documentary goals of the present study offer ample motivation for the selection of a syntactic framework demonstrated to be capable of corpus-based analysis, largely independent of the theoretical claims such a framework might make as to the nature of human syntactic ability, it would be inaccurate to claim that this descriptive focus can entirely avoid the theoretical issues inherent in analytical practice. It would seem clear that *no* descriptive linguistic work is wholly atheoretic, in the case of constructional analysis as with any other methodology (cf. Dryer 2006). Where verb cluster phenomena have been contended to offer "the most solid argument" (Seuren 2004: 595) in favour of an autonomous, modular, computational view of human syntactic ability, the presentation of constructional documentation of the same phenomena which makes no explicit assumptions of the autonomy of syntactic ability may demonstrate the viability of alternative perspectives on linguistic competence, and thus be of relevance to the larger theoretical debate. In selecting a constructional framework, the present study does not intend to suggest that other analyses of verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German are any less practical, that points of view concerning syntactic ability commonly associated with other frameworks are of any lesser value, or that the contributions which analyses pursued within other frameworks and from other theoretical perspectives might make to the understanding of this language are in any way less important. Rather, one would hope for a productive interplay between the foci of linguistic theory and the requirements of thorough and empirically well-founded linguistic documentation – that theoretical stance and descriptive practice might present reciprocal challenges which would lead to greater empirical adequacy on the part of theory and increased attention to distributional detail on the part of documentation, thus refining both (cf. Rice 2006).

2.3. SUMMARY. The preceding chapter has sought to introduce and present arguments in favour of a constructional, corpus-based approach to the analysis of verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German. Beginning with discussion of the composition and construction of a corpus of written Mennonite Low German assembled and annotated for the purpose of such analysis, and proceeding to defend the representativeness of this corpus as a coherent and community-accepted sample of the written varieties of several historically-distinct Russian Mennonite speech communities, this chapter has attempted to justify a corpus-based methodology, noting the benefits of the use of natural language data not produced under the control of the researcher for the purposes of linguistic investigation over other, more direct methods of data elicitation. It was subsequently argued that these additional methods of data collection are, in most cases, broadly compatible with the corpus-based analysis adopted here, and might be employed profitably to extend the existing corpus collection at later stages of analysis in areas where corpus attestations of constructions of interest are relatively sparse, or where additional detail is required concerning the structure or interpretation of individual constructions. The use of 'naturally-occurring' linguistic data as the foundation for analysis, it was contended, serves in this case both to minimize (though admittedly not eliminate) the possibility of undue influence on the part of the researcher upon the data gathered, as well as to present a diverse source of contextualized linguistic information stemming from a variety of authors, dialects, and genres, thus subserving the larger documentary goal of the present study.

The remainder of the chapter has attempted to defend the selection of a constructional methodology in the analysis of these corpus data, noting the potential relevance of such an approach to theoretical claims advanced by Seuren (2004), which asserted that verb cluster constructions in German present exemplary cases of syntactic phenomena whose analysis underscore the importance (and indeed, following Seuren's arguments, virtual necessity) of a modular, autonomous-computational view of human syntactic competence. That a constructional perspective on verbal complementation in the Continental West Germanic languages would appear warranted, however, given pervasive variation in the linear orders and morphosyntactic marking of such phenomena across both languages and constructions, has been argued by Wurmbrand (2004, 2006), whose empirical research into the typological features of such constructions would appear to suggest the requisite consideration not only of individual verb classes and their various combinations in capturing observed regularities, but also of passivity, polarity, tense, and other factors often given little attention under analyses such as that advanced by Seuren (2004). In this regard, a non-reductionist constructional approach to the analysis of verbal complementation as advocated by Croft (2001) would appear well suited to representing both the regularities observed by Seuren (2004) and many prior derivational studies of verbal complementation in Continental West Germanic languages, but also to the lexical, information-structural, and further features of constructional context proposed to be of relevance to the analysis and typological comparison of verbal complementation phenomena in these languages.

While constructional approaches would appear to have met with success in comparable instances of corpus-based description, their adoption here far from excludes other, non-constructional approaches to analysis which are capable of giving similar attention to fine contextual detail. Nevertheless, given the potential relevance of constructional analysis of verbal complementation to the theoretical issues raised by

Seuren (2004) and the compatibility of constructional analysis with the practical requirements of corpus-based language documentation, a constructional methodology has been adopted here which seeks to present those patterns encountered in the corpus data on verbal complementation with minimal theoretical apparatus, with the aim of permitting the results of analysis to remain accessible to both non-theoretical applications and to further formalization in other frameworks of syntax. Thus, the constructional, corpus-based approach to documentation adopted in the analysis presented in the following chapter is intended to permit the reuse and reanalysis of both data and analytical results, leaving them largely open to extension, replication, and challenge on both empirical and theoretical grounds, as might reasonably be required of such research.

3. VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION IN MENNONITE LOW GERMAN. As the preceding chapters have argued, verbal complementation represents a central problem in the analysis of the syntax of Continental West Germanic languages, given the relatively high frequency of verbal complementation constructions, their apparent structural complexity, and the significant degree of variation observed in such constructions between individual languages, varieties, and speakers. All of these aspects have resulted in considerable theoretical attention having been devoted to such constructions, and thus a sizeable literature from which later studies might benefit. The present chapter therefore first seeks to outline in brief some of this prior work on the analysis of verbal complementation phenomena (and, in particular, so-called *verb clusters*) in Continental West Germanic generally and Mennonite Low German in particular. Then, adopting the corpus-based, constructional methodology described in the previous chapter, this chapter proceeds to develop an analysis of the complementation patterns evidenced in the present corpus, concluding with a summary of the patterns noted and the larger picture of verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German which emerges from their consideration.

While the body of literature concerning verbal complementation phenomena in Continental West Germanic languages is, as was noted above, both typologically extensive and rich in linguistic detail, and cannot hope to receive exhaustive attention in the present section, it would nevertheless appear beneficial to consider several approaches to the analysis and description of such phenomena which have figured prominently in existing research. Perhaps most influential among early studies of verbal complementation is the seminal work of Bech (1955, 1957) on Standard German infinitival verbs. In addition to presenting a laudably thorough philological description of German verbal complementation constructions as represented in several dozen works of Standard German literature (cf. Bech 1955: 6-9), Bech offers one of the first attempts at an axiomatization of verbal complementation constructions, introducing terms such as *status*, *status government* and *coherence* which remain in use in the literature today (cf. Meurers 2000: 11), and which will receive further attention in the sections to follow. Both derivational (e.g. Evers 1975) and non-derivational (e.g. Meurers 2000) approaches to the analysis of verbal complementation in the Continental West Germanic languages have relied heavily upon the descriptive terminology and results established by Bech, rendering these studies important members of the canon of works on Continental West Germanic syntax.

In later work on verbal complementation, considerable attention has been given not only to the analysis of the morphosyntactic patterns and construction types identified by Bech, but also to so-called *infinitivus-pro-participio* (or *Ersatzinfinitiv*) phenomena, in which complement verbs expected to have the morphological marking of a past participle instead appear as bare infinitives (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 235; Zwart 2007); and so-called *verb clusters*, groups of verbs appearing in close proximity to one another. Motivating the investigation of verb clusters in particular has been the unexpected syntactic and semantic behaviour which such clusters occasionally demonstrate: verb orders within clusters may not be predicted by the complementation relationships which exist between their component verbs, for example, and clusters themselves may demonstrate constituent-like behaviour and features of both mono-clausal and multi-clausal syntax (cf. É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004: 1-2). While *infinitivus-pro-participio* and verb cluster phenomena have been argued to be logically and empirically distinct (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 235), both would appear intimately related to verbal complementation, and therefore receive specific, albeit separate attention below.

With investigations of verb cluster phenomena having long being pursued from within different analytical frameworks, it is perhaps not surprising to note that definitions of verb clusters vary, often in accordance with theoretical orientation. Within the tradition of generative syntax, for example, verb clusters have often been subsumed under the label of *verb raising*, as in Zwart (2005: 904-5), following analyses in the spirit of Evers (1975) which view verb clusters as the result of derivational processes of verb raising and adjunction within an assumed phrase structure hierarchy. Even this term, however, does not appear to do justice to the full range of theories advanced within generative syntax to account for verb cluster phenomena, with analyses involving both reanalysis (e.g. Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986) and scrambling (e.g. den Besten & Rutten 1989) having found considerable acceptance within the generative literature, as well. Given the theoretical associations inherent in the term 'verb raising' – as É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk (2004) suggest, the term is arguably “somewhat theory laden” (2) – the present study reserves this designation (and the related term *verb projection raising*) to refer here to a family of constructions found within certain verb clusters, as discussed in greater detail in section 3.5, rather than to any particular hypothesis concerning their derivation or morphosyntactic properties. Similarly, the present study follows Wurmbrand (2006) in defining the term 'verb clusters' to refer to “constructions involving more than one verbal element" (230), thus including both finite and infinitival constructions, independent of the constituency and linear ordering of their verbal components.

Common to many analyses of verbal constructions, both derivational and non-derivational, has been an emphasis upon the role played by classes of verbs in licensing different complementation constructions. In the generative syntactic tradition, such classes of 'clustering verbs' have sometimes been taken to delimit features of complementation in deep structure (cf. Evers 1975: 4-8), and thus to capture through lexical specification of complement structures both acceptable and unacceptable patterns of inflectional marking and linear ordering produced through subsequent derivations. That is, the subcategorization requirements of individual verbs are taken on this view to limit these verbs' participation in derivations which would subsequently produce verb clusters or related surface phenomena. How such verb classes are determined varies considerably between individual studies: Bech (1955), Evers (1975), den Besten & Rutten (1989), among others, would on the whole appear to favour structural definitions of these verb classes (i.e. classes of verbs determined by the range of verb cluster constructions in which they might acceptably appear and by the characteristics of their morphosyntactic marking), while Haider (2003) and É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk (2004) would seem to characterize these same verbs to some extent by semantic criteria (e.g. phenomena limited to verbs of permission, of causation, of perception, etc.). While structural and semantic criteria are not necessarily mutually exclusive in the determination of acceptable verbal complementation constructions, verb type would appear to have been relevant to many prior analyses of verb clustering, and thus may deserve consideration in the present study, as well.

Given the prominence of these verbal constructions, both in typological studies of word order phenomena in the Continental West Germanic languages (e.g. Lötscher 1978; Wurmbrand 2006) and in investigations of individual West Germanic languages and varieties, it is not entirely unexpected to find such constructions to have received some degree of attention in studies of Mennonite Low German, as well. Though rarely cited (with the exceptions of Zwart 2005, 2007), Jedig (1969) offers occasional notes on verbal constructions and their associated word orders, though these remarks would not seem to have been directed specifically at the problem of delimiting the range of possible or grammatical orders within such constructions, but rather appearing to concentrate upon exceptional cases noted in his analysis of Western Siberian Mennonite *Plautdietsch*. More recently, Kaufmann (2003a, 2005) has approached the analysis of verb cluster constructions in several South American, Mexican, and Texas varieties of Mennonite Low German from a variationist sociolinguistic perspective, drawing relevant data from questionnaire-based translation tasks intended to target verbal constructions of several different sizes and classes. Kaufmann (2005) offers a critique of this model of investigation and its potential strengths and weaknesses, giving particular attention to issues of syntactic interference from the languages from which the questionnaire sentences were to be translated into *Plautdietsch*. Despite these limitations, Kaufmann's recent work would appear to represent the most thorough studies to date of the sociolinguistic aspects of these constructions' historical development and present use in

Russian Mennonite communities throughout the Americas. Their primary focus upon Mexican and South American varieties of Mennonite Low German, the majority of which stem historically from Canadian varieties, and the quantitative-variationist methodology adopted may distinguish these studies from the present attempt at a description of the range of linguistic variation encountered in such verbal constructions, but would not appear to render their results incomparable. Rather, as Kaufmann (2003a: 192) suggests, the inclusion of data and descriptive results from the analysis of varieties of Canadian Mennonite *Plautdietsch* may shed light on many of the problems of diachronic syntactic change which Kaufmann posits to have taken place in several Mennonite communities of Mexico and South America, providing information of value for further sociolinguistic inquiry. Likewise, the variationist emphasis of Kaufmann's studies bring worthwhile attention to social axes of variation relevant to description and difficult to ascertain on the basis of the present corpus data alone, and thus point to areas in which the present descriptive account might be expanded. In both instances, variationist sociolinguistic analysis and constructional, corpus-based documentation would appear to share complementary goals and compatible methodologies, with each approaching the problem of accounting for observed variation in verbal constructions through quantitatively-driven analysis.

The remaining sections of this chapter therefore concentrate upon developing an analysis of verbal complementation as evidenced in the present corpus data with primary attention given to the structural and semantic, rather than the sociolinguistic, aspects of the constructions identified. The following two sections introduce several basic features of common verbal constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* relevant to later discussion of the verbal complementation, including major classes of verbal constructions, the typical linear ordering of their constituents, and their morphosyntactic marking. Relying upon the observations made in this introduction, the subsequent two sections then attempt to identify and analyze both finite and infinitival verbal complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus, giving attention to possible evidence of syntactic variation between the Molochnaya and Chortitza varieties represented in this sample and to "exceptional" patterns noted within larger constructional classes, and outlining a basic statistical model of this constructional variation for one particularly common verbal complementation construction studied in this section. Following this analysis are two shorter sections considering in greater detail phenomena encountered in both finite and infinitival verbal complementation constructions, namely so-called verb projection raising and *infinitivus-pro-participio* (IPP) constructions, with an eye to understanding what elements might licitly appear in such constructions and potential factors determining constructional acceptability in these cases. Finally, this chapter concludes with a brief inspection of verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite Low German attested in sources outside of the tagged subcorpus, presenting an opportunity to compare the constructional patterns identified earlier against a larger set of examples and, more generally, to consider the degree to which the present analysis might apply to further, as of yet unseen varieties of Mennonite Low German.

3.1. VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN MENNONITE LOW GERMAN. In order to consider the properties of verbal complementation constructions in detail, it is first necessary to devote attention to the morphosyntactic properties of several common classes of Mennonite Low German verbal constructions. Any syntactic deviation noted in verbal complementation constructions must ultimately be judged not only against the patterns defined by other such constructions, but also against the patterns encountered in other aspects of verbal syntax, whether restricted to verbal complementation or not. This section therefore attempts to present an overview of several common classes of verbal constructions in Mennonite Low German, focusing principally upon distinctions in the semantic interpretation and linear ordering of constituents in such constructions, and leaving most discussion of the equally complex matter of their morphological marking for the following section. While this overview relies at times upon the derivationally-oriented typological summary of Continental West Germanic syntax offered by Zwart (2005) for direction, the intention of this section is not the immediate integration of the presented constructions into larger syntactic-typological schemas proposed for this language family, but rather a gentle introduction to the hallmarks of Mennonite Low German syntax, permitting further discussion of its typological similarities and differences when compared with other related languages at a later point in analysis.

Among the most prominent features of Continental West Germanic verbal syntax, and of Mennonite Low German verbal syntax, as well, is an "asymmetry between main and embedded clauses with respect to the position of the finite verb" (Zwart 2005: 904). As in many other Continental West Germanic languages, finite verbs in Mennonite Low German typically appear in second structural position (V_2) in non-topicalized, declarative main clause constructions, as in (2), and in final structural position (V_{Final}) in embedded clause constructions, as in (3):[15]

(2) a. *Ekj* ***woa***$_1$ *je daut aul moake*$_2$
I will EMPH that already make:INF
'I will certainly do that.' (RE1972: 40)

(2) b. *He* ***haud***$_1$ *sien Papajei met noh Saskatchewan jebrocht*$_2$.
he had his parrot with to Saskatchewan bring:PTCP
'He had brought along his parrot to Saskatchewan.' (JMF2005: 14)

(3) a. *[Daut diad lang]*
that took long
ea ekj mi daut em Kopp aula traicht jekromt$_2$ ***haud***$_1$.
before I REFL that in.the head all in.order arrange:PTCP had
'[It took a long time] before I had sorted it all out in my head.'
(RE1972: 75)

(3) b. *[Fäah saigt, best du oba nich jlekjlich]*
Fehr says, are you EMPH not happy

---

[15] Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent examples of Mennonite Low German are taken from the tagged subcorpus, and are presented wherever possible in accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Conventions. Where corpus examples contain text of secondary importance to the point under discussion, such sections are marked off with square brackets, as in (3a) and (3b). Wherever possible (and appropriate, given the focus of the section in which they appear), examples are given of the phenomenon under consideration from the works of both Reuben Epp (RE) and Jacob M. Fehr (JMF) to demonstrate cross-varietal attestation.

daut du di met mi befriet$_2$ ***hast***$_1$.

COMP you REFL with me marry.PTCP have

'[Fehr says, "Aren't you glad] that you married me?"' (JMF 2001: 51)

As these examples demonstrate, this dichotomy between verb-second main clause and verb-final embedded clause constructions holds not only for single-verb constructions, but also for constructions involving multiple verbs. In both cases, the finite verb is commonly presumed to appear in the position determined by the verb-second or verb-final clausal construction, and all remaining infinitival verbs to appear in final structural position in descending order of complementation (i.e. the verbal complement appearing before the governing verb), as in the main clause constructions in (4a) and (4b):

(4) a. *[Dee waut doa aul lang befriet send,]*

those REL there already long married are,

woaren$_1$ *dit äwents goot* ***vestohnen***$_3$ ***kjennen***$_2$.

will this anyway good understand:INF can:INF

'[Those who have been married for a long time already] will be able to understand this, anyway.' (JMF2001: 39)

(4) b. *"[Nä, nä,] ekj* ***kaun***$_1$ *kjeenem* ***lache***$_3$ ***heare***$_2$*."*

no, no, I can no.one laugh:INF hear:INF

'"[No, no,] I can't hear anyone laughing."' (RE1972: 114)

Such sequences of final infinitival verbs in both main clause and embedded clause constructions often form the basis of verb clusters. As in many other Continental West Germanic languages, however, the constituents of verb clusters in Mennonite Low

German may appear in orders not adhering to the simple pattern of descending order of complementation described above. That is, even in verb-final constructions, where one would expect all verbs to appear in descending order of complementation at the end of the construction, non-descending orders are observed:

(5) a. *[Oba ekj wundad mi doch woo groot soona senne$_2$ mucht$_1$] dee*
but I wondered REFL still how big such be:INF might REL
utjewossne Maunslied ***wudd$_1$ kjenne$_2$*** *en 'e Hal* ***'nenschlape$_3$***.
grown men would can:INF in the hell drag.into:INF
'[But I still wondered how big one like that might be] that would be able to drag grown men into hell.' (RE1972: 96)

(5) b. *[De Leahra kunn$_1$ daut faust fe' 'et Läwen nich jleewen$_2$] daut ons Voda*
the teacher could that almost for the life not believe COMP our father
ons aul ***wudd$_1$ loten$_2$*** *de Flint* ***bruken$_3$***.
us already would let:INF the gun use:INF
'[The teacher could barely believe] that our father would let us use the gun already.' (JMF1994: 48)

The linear order of verbs in verbal constructions thus represents one important aspect of variation in Mennonite Low German verbal complementation, and is therefore considered in greater detail in sections 3.3 and 3.4 below.

In general, then, non-topicalized main clause constructions are characterized formally by their tendency to locate the finite verb in second structural position, whereas embedded clause constructions are often (though not always, as examples (5a) and (5b) show) feature the finite verb in final structural position (cf. Kefer & Lejeune 1974: 322-3). This formal contrast between these two classes of constructions might be seen as mirroring functional differences, as well: as Louden (2005) observes, verb-second constructions typically correspond with increased discourse prominence, often serving to introduce the topics or propositional content subject to later commentary or elaboration; while verb-final constructions, by comparison, more often serve to elaborate items already current in discourse (e.g. through sentential modification introduced by complementizers, prepositions, etc.), and thus assume lesser prominence in discourse. The structural dichotomy between V_2 and V_{Final} which differentiates these two classes of constructions might thus be viewed as having functional, discourse-pragmatic underpinnings, in Mennonite Low German as elsewhere: the "pragmatic asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses observed in German", Louden argues, "is in fact universal across modern Germanic languages, including those, like German, in which V2 is still robust", with "the content of V2 structures [being] associated with a degree of emphasis or prominence greater than that of subordinate clauses" (174). On this view, then, the choice between these two construction types is determined in part by factors pertaining to discourse situations, rather than merely the predication and modification relations into which such constructions enter, a hypothesis which may be of some merit in accounting for observed variation in verb placement in these constructions.

As well, topicalization may introduce further variation into constituent ordering in main clause (and, more rarely, embedded clause) constructions. While only cursory attention can be given to topicalization phenomena here, it should be noted that topicalization may result in direct objects (6a), adverbial material (6b), and even infinitival complements (6c-d) appearing with prosodic emphasis in first structural position, lending them additional prominence in discourse. Insofar as they might be considered to present distinct variants of these less-marked main and embedded clause constructions, topicalization constructions may demonstrate distinct patterns of verbal constituent ordering, as well.

(6) a. *[Ekj säd mi dan] daut* ***soone Städ**, aus dit woa*$_1$ *ekj nie finjen*$_2$

I said REFL then COMP such.a place as this will I never find:INF

'[I said to myself then] that a place like this I'll never find.' (JMF1994: 30)

(6) b. *[Doa wea noch emma kjeene Räd von backen un Mame wisst]*

there was still ever no talk of bake:INF and mama knew

daut ***eene Tiet*** *wudd*$_1$ *sikj daut met de Kjäakjsche motten*$_2$ *schekjen*$_3$.

COMP one time would REFL that with the maid must:INF work.out:INF

'[There was still no talk of baking and mom knew that at *some* point it would have to work out with the maid.' (JMF2005: 77)

(6) c. *[Nu wea wi aum Stia]*

now were we at.the steering.wheel

un ***Dietsch vestohnen***$_2$ *kunn*$_1$ *de Baus toom Jlekj nich.*

and German understand:INF could the boss to.the luck not

'[Now we were behind the wheel] and the boss luckily couldn't understand German.' (JMF2005: 43)

(6) d. ***Bloos schaufe*$_2$**, *wudde*$_1$ *se em Flekj - [/ Nich wada suupe*$_3$ *gohne*$_2$*]*
just work:INF would they in.the field not again drink:INF go:INF
'They would just *work* in the field - [/ Not go drinking again]' (RE1972:28)

While such declarative verb-second and verb-final constructions, both topicalized and not, are indeed common in Mennonite Low German, other constructions exist as well which define alternative orders of verbal and non-verbal elements. Coordination constructions in which two or more coordinate infinitives are introduced by a single verb, for instance, occasionally require the complements of all but the first infinitive to appear *after* these verbs, rather than before them, as would be expected if no coordination were present:

(7) a. *[Saul schekjd siene Deena se sullen David saijen,] wann he* ***wudd*$_1$**
[Saul sent his servants they should David say:INF] if he would
jäajen de Filista ***kjrieen*$_2$** *un* ***brinjen*$_2$** *hundat Menschen* ***om***,
against the Philistines wage.war:INF and kill:INF 100 people ADV
[dan kunn he sikj siene jinjste Dochta frieen.]
[then could he REFL his youngest daughter marry]
'[Saul sent his servants to say to David, if he would wage war against the Philistines and kill one hundred people, [then he could marry his (i.e. Saul's) youngest daughter.' (JMF2006: 66-7)

(7) b. *[Noomi un Ruth booden*$_1$ *sikj aun] de Joaschtflekja* ***derchgohnen*$_2$**
[Naomi and Ruth offered REFL ADV] the barley.fields go.through:INF

un ***ropen***$_2$ ***toop*** *waut doa wea ligjen jeblăwen.*

and gather:INF together REL there was lie:INF remain:PTCP

'[Naomi and Ruth offered to] go through the barley fields and gather together what was left over.' (JMF2006: 60)

In (7a), the adverbial complement of the first infinitive *kjrieen* 'to wage war' appears before that verb, as is common to both coordinate and non-coordinate constructions. The complement of the second infinitive *ombrinjen* 'to kill', a phrasal or adverbial-particle verb, appears after the verb, with the separable infinitival prefix *om* appearing after the nominal complement *hundat Menschen* 'one hundred people', as would be the case if this were the finite verb in a verb-second construction.[16] This pattern is even more pronounced in (7b), where the finite verb *sikj aunbeeden* 'to offer' and its two complement infinitives *derchgohnen* 'to go through' and *toopropen* 'to gather, scoop together' are all particle verbs. The nominal complement of the first infinitive, *de Joaschtflekja* 'the barley fields', appears to its left, and its separable prefix *derch* remains attached; while the nominal-clausal complement of the second infinitive, *waut doa wea ligjen jeblăwen* 'what was left over', appears to its right, with its separable prefix *toop* detached.

---

[16] That is, in a non-coordinated verb-second construction, the adverbial prefix of the finite verb would be expected to appear after the nominal complement, as in *du* ***brinjst*** *hundat Menschen* ***om*** 'you kill one hundred people'. For infinitival verbs in non-coordinate verb-second constructions, and for both finite and infinitival verbs in non-coordinate verb-final constructions, however, the prefix remains attached to the verb: *du woascht*$_1$ *hundat Menschen* ***ombrinjen***$_2$ 'you will kill one hundred people' (verb-second construction), *daut he hundat Menschen* ***ombrinjt***$_1$ */* ***ombrinjen***$_2$ *woat*$_1$ 'that he kills / will kill one hundred people' (verb-final constructions).

While the details of particle verb constructions arguably merit separate attention, their presence here nevertheless serves to underscore key differences between the formal structures of postposed coordinate and non-coordinate infinitive constructions. Indeed, such postposed coordinated infinitive constructions have long been noted as hallmarks of Low German syntax: Fuckel (1912) presents similar examples from other varieties of Low German in which the complement of the second of two coordinated infinitives is postposed, as in *du sollst kommen und* ***holen sie*** 'you should come and fetch her' (164). While attested in some varieties of Low German, these distinctive postposed infinitival complement constructions would not appear to be common to all Continental West Germanic languages, with Standard German typically requiring non-sentential complements to appear before the verb. Likewise, it should be noted that non-postposed coordinate infinitive constructions exist in Mennonite Low German, as well, as evidenced by examples (8a) and (8b):

(8) a. *Se* ***hauden***$_1$ *Utroop* ***jemoakt***$_2$ *un uk aules* ***vekofft***$_2$
They had auction make:PTCP and also everything sell:PTCP
[aus äah Hund haud Peeta jehoolen.]
[except their dog had Peter keep:PTCP]
'They had held an auction and sold everything [except for their dog, which Peter kept].' (JMF2005: 24)

(8) b. *Un em plautdietschet Restauraunt* ***wudd***$_1$ *eena* ***'nengohne***$_3$ ***kjenne***$_2$,
and in.the Low.German restaurant would one go.in:INF can:INF

un sikj Kjieltje ooda Warenikje ooda Plumemooss ***foddre***$_2$.

and REFL noodles or perogies or compote order:INF

'And one would be able to go into the *Plautdietsch* restaurant and order oneself wedge noodles (*Kjieltje*) or perogies (*Warenikje*) or fruit compote (*Plumemooss*).' (RE1972: 63)

Moreover, when particle verbs appear as the second or subsequent infinitives in non-postposed coordinate infinitive constructions, their separable prefixes would appear to remain attached to the verb, as is the case in (8c) and (8d):

(8) c. *[Oba dee wudde*$_1$ *nich von selwst bi Boldte 'nenbeaje*$_2$*,]*

[but they would not from self by Boldts turn.in:INF

doaväa ***musst***$_1$ *he* ***sorje***$_2$ *un* ***opppausse***$_2$.

for.that had.to he take.care:INF and look.out:INF

'[But they wouldn't turn in at Boldts by themselves;] he had to take care of that and pay attention.' (RE1972: 57)

(8) d. *He* ***jleichd***$_1$ *em nauten Goaden* ***'erommastuusen***$_2$ *un blottje Jalmäaren*

he liked in.the wet garden run.around:INF and muddy carrots

utrieten$_2$ *un* ***äten***$_2$ *[daut 'et mank 'e Tähnen gnorschd.]*

pull.out:INF and eat:INF [COMP it among the teeth ground]

'He liked to run around in the wet garden and pull out and eat muddy carrots [such that (the dirt) ground between his teeth.]' (JMF2001: 57)[17]

---

[17] The objection might be raised that this example is of a different character than those cited earlier, in that the preposed object *blottje Jalmäaren* 'muddy carrots' is shared by two infinitives, namely *utrieten* 'to pull out' and *äten* 'to eat'. While this coordination may indeed be relevant to the preposed position of

Regardless of the position of their complements, then, it would appear that many coordinate infinitival constructions favour positioning the verb which introduces the coordinate infinitives *before* these complements, i.e. preposed with respect to the infinitives it introduces, even in embedded clause constructions such as (7a) where the (finite) verb would more often be expected to appear *after* its complements. Nevertheless, the linear order of verbs and their complements would appear highly variable in coordinate infinitival constructions, and this variation should therefore be taken into account when seeking to describe patterns of complementation.

Other verbal constructions may, as Zwart (2005: 930) notes, vary in the linear order of their constituents from the general patterns observed in coordinate and simple main and embedded clause constructions, as well. Yes-no question constructions, for example, characteristically involve the finite verb appearing in initial, rather than second, position, as in examples (9a) and (9b):

(9) a. ***Wudd***$_1$ *wi doabi* ***bestohne***$_2$*?*

would we there.by persist:INF

---

the direct object here, it would not appear to provide counterevidence to the general claim that the prefixes of non-initial infinitival particle verbs remain attached to the verb stem in such constructions. Further evidence from the corpus might be introduced to support this hypothesis: cf. *[Ekj woa di un diene Kjinja säajnen, oba wann ji woaren aundre Jetta haben] dan* ***woa***$_1$ *ekj dit Huus* ***veloten***$_2$ *un de Israeliten daut Laund* ***waignähmen***$_2$ *[waut ekj ahn gauf un se woaren väl leahren motten.]* '[I will bless you and your children, but if you will have other gods,] then I **will**$_1$ **forsake**$_2$ this house and **take away**$_2$ from the Israelites the land [that I gave them, and they will have to learn much.]' (JMF2006: 70), among other examples, where the second infinitival particle verb *waignähmen* 'take away' does not share its direct object with any other infinitival verb, but nevertheless appears with its prefix *waig-* attached.

'Would we persist (pass, survive) in that situation?' (RE1972: 43)

(9) b. *[Ekj stund en 'e Schlopstow biem Fensta, zield derch 'e*
[I stood in the sleep.room by.the window peeked through the
Gardienen un wundad,] ***woaren$_1$*** *de Junges jeemols* ***trigjkomen$_2$****?*
curtains and wondered] will the boys ever come.back:INF
'[I stood in the bedroom by the window, peeked through the curtains, and
wondered: "Will the boys ever come back?"' (JMF2001: 23)

These constructions bear some similarity to rhetorical emphasis constructions, which also often feature finite verbs at the beginning of the construction (and might be suggested, in certain discourse contexts, also to solicit involvement on the part of the interlocutor, though this would clearly require conversational data to corroborate), but which lack the rising intonation of yes-no questions:

(10) a. *[He meend,]* ***es$_1$*** *mi dit oba aulatoop* ***vedorwen$_2$****.*
he opined, is me this EMPH altogether ruin:PTCP
'He said, "Hasn't this all just been ruined for me."' (JMF2001: 39)

(10) b. ***Hab$_1$*** *ekj doanoh* ***jeforscht$_2$****.*
have I after.that search:PTCP
'Did I ever look for that!' (RE1972: 76)

In a similar fashion, imperative constructions typically involve the finite verb appearing at the beginning of the construction, albeit often with morphological marking distinct from that of the indicative and without an explicit subject:[18]

---

[18] This should not be taken to suggest that subjects are impossible in imperative constructions, but rather that they are rarely, if ever required: cf. *Un Peeta,* ***du spool*** *mea Holt* 'And Peter, **you chop** (imper.)

(11) a. ***Häwt***$_1$ *de Bohn jewess* ***opp*** *un* ***lot***$_1$ *de Steena unja de Schwalen*

lift:IMP the track surely up and let:IMP the stones under the ties

rollen$_2$, [saigt Schwungraud.]

roll:INF [says Schwungraud.]

'"Lift the (railroad) track up for sure and let the stones roll under the ties," Schwungraud says.' (JMF1994: 70)

(11) b. "*Nu* ***hea***$_1$ *mau opp doavon un* ***vekjeep***$_1$ *mi doch 'ne haulwe Dutz*

now stop:IMP only up with.that and sell:IMP me yet a half dozen

Bockelzhonne."

tomatoes

'Now just stop that and sell me a half a dozen tomatoes.' (RE1972: 105)

Likewise, both cohortatives introduced with *well wi* 'shall-we', such as (12a) and (12b), and optatives introduced with *mucht* 'may, might', such as (12c), generally appear with the finite verb in first position and with explicit subjects, although without the rising intonation of yes-no questions:

(12) a. *Nu* ***well***$_1$ ***'wi*** *ons aula* ***priefen***$_2$, *un* ***schaufen***$_2$ *doch nodroat*

now want we REFL all test:INF and work:INF yet thoroughly

'Now let us all test our hearts and work hard.' (JMF1994: 29)

---

more wood' (JMF1994: 6); *Wellem säd, "****Hea du*** *emol met de Dommheit* ***opp****."* 'William said, "**(You) stop** (imper.) with the nonsense for once." (JMF1994: 12); *"Na, Obraum" säd Taunte Marie: "dann* ***komm du*** *mol* ***nohseehne*** *auf de Eiskriemtopp opplatzt laikt."* '"Well, Abram," said Aunt Marie, "then **(you) come** (imper.) **take a look** whether the ice cream container might be leaking." (RE1972: 54).

(12) b. *[Jehaun tuckat äah opp 'em Schulla un saigt, "Heea,]*

John taps her on the shoulder and says honey

***well**$_1$ **'wi** 'en kjlien Stootstje noh Tommy **horchen**$_2$."*

want we a little while to Tommy listen:INF

'[John taps her on the shoulder and says, "Honey,] let's listen to Tommy (Douglas) for a little while.' (JMF1994: 60)

(12) c. ***Mucht**$_1$ onse Utsecht fe' Plautdietsch, [soo aus wi forschen un*

may our outlook for Low.German [so as we research and

*studearen] emma scheena un stoakja **woaren**$_2$.*

study] always more.beautiful and stronger become:INF

'May our perspective on *Plautdietsch* grow ever stronger and more beautiful [as we research and study (it).]' (JMF1994: 2)

Other verbal constructions may adhere to the structural patterns of one or another of these general constructions (e.g. declarative main or embedded clause constructions, imperative constructions, yes-no questions, etc.). Thus, passive constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, which, much as in other Continental West Germanic languages, involve some form of the passive auxiliary *woaren* 'be, become' and perfect participial marking of the passivized verb (cf. Zwart 2005: 922), may appear in main or embedded clause constructions, while passive imperatives, yes-no questions, cohortatives, and optatives do not appear to be attested in the present corpus:[19]

---

[19] Several of these unattested constructions may in fact be acceptable only under a restricted set of formal or functional conditions not provided in this corpus, or their functions subsumed under another family of distinct constructions. Examples of both passive optatives (e.g. *mucht daut noch jedonen woaren*

(13) a. *Hia* ***woat aum*** *Desch, nich too väl onnat* ***jerädt.***

here is at.the table not too much unkind talk:PTCP

'People don't talk unkindly too much here around the table.' (JMF2005: 33)

(13) b. *[Aus ekj toohorchd] woo aundre Aunjekloagde* ***väajebrocht$_2$ worde$_1$,***

[As I listened] how other accused bring.forward:PTCP were

eenzje aus onschuldig ***too entlote$_4$ woare$_3$*** *un aundre aus Schildna*

some as innocent to release:PTCP be:INF and others as guilty.people

too veuadeelt$_4$ woare$_3$, *bemoakjd ekj daut 'et schweare uk ut 'em*

to judge:PTCP be:INF noticed I COMP the swearing also out the

---

'may that yet be done') and yes-no questions (e.g. *word doa uk emol jedaunzt?* 'was there dancing, too?') are entirely conceivable, while examples of passive cohortatives would seem more difficult to form (possibly in light of the required first-person plural subject of the fixed phrase *well wi*), though perhaps not impossible (e.g. *well wi noch jedeept woaren* 'let's get baptised' may be acceptable, though the reflexive causative *well wi ons noch deepen loten* 'let's let ourselves be baptised' would seem somewhat more natural.) In contrast, passive imperatives appear on the whole unlikely, given that the semantic agent in such constructions is most often backgrounded in the passive and foregrounded in the imperative, though it would appear difficult to demonstrate that these are indeed impossible. Even if examples might be put forward which demonstrate a marginal degree of acceptance, the problem of ineffability may nevertheless remain: while structurally feasible and semantically interpretable, the proposed sentences may still be strongly disfavoured in actual usage and other, functionally-comparable constructions preferred, leaving analyses depending upon the acceptability of such 'ineffable' sentences in a somewhat precarious empirical position. Without dismissing the value of introspection in linguistic inquiry, particularly in the examination of relatively 'rare' constructions, some caution would appear to be in order when interpreting generalizations formed on the basis of either limited corpus data or otherwise-unattested construction types produced through introspection.

Jerecht ***wea***$_1$ ***jenohme***$_3$ ***worde***$_2$.

court was take:PTCP be:IPP

'[As I listened] how other accused individuals were brought forward, some to be released as innocent, and others to be judged guilty, I noticed that the swearing (of oaths) had been removed from the court, as well.' (RE1972: 88)

Such passive constructions might be extended to include what are here referred to as elliptic passives. These have the same semantic characteristics as the passives reviewed above, but which do not include the passive auxiliary *woaren*, relying instead upon the juxtaposition of a finite modal verb (typically deontic, e.g. *motten* 'must', *bruken* 'need') with a perfective participle. Examples of elliptic passives in prose (14a) and verse (14b) are given below.

(14) a. *[Ons Läwen es soo aus 'en Goaden] waut doa* ***jereedt***$_2$ ***mott***$_1$

[our life is so as a garden] REL there prepare:PTCP must

[om scheen too droagen.]

[COMP nice to bear:INF]

'Our life is like a garden that needs to be tended [in order to bear good crops.]' (JMF2001: 76)

(14) b. *[Oba waut ekj noch nich wisst / Wea woo lang daut diat //]*

[but what I still not knew was how long that lasts]

Wan doa jieda Stekj Hoottje / ***Mott***$_1$ ***bekjikjt***$_2$ *un* ***betiat***$_2$.

when there every piece hat:DIM must inspect:PTCP and admire:PTCP

'[But what I didn't know yet / Was how long that takes] / When every last little hat / Must be inspected and admired.' (RE1972: 30)

Unlike elliptic passive constructions, where the passive auxiliary is omitted, causative constructions require the presence of a causative verb (e.g. *moaken* 'make', *loten* 'let') which introduces subsequent verbal material as its complements (cf. Zwart 2005: 923). Examples of causative constructions involving both *moaken* and *loten* in verb-second and verb-final constructions are given below.

(15) a. *De Benjel* ***kunn***$_1$ *dän Baul* ***moaken***$_2$ ***dreihen***$_3$

The boy could the ball make:INF spin:INF

[daut dän faust kjeena trafen$_2$ *kunn*$_1$*.]*

[COMP it almost no.one hit:INF could]

'The boy could make the ball spin [such that barely anyone could hit it].'

(JMF2005: 15)

(15) b. *[Ekj wundad] woo eenzje Junges dän Muulschiara* ***kunnen***$_1$

[I wondered] how some boys the harmonica could

moaken$_2$ ***soo juulen***$_3$.

make:INF so howl:INF

'[I wondered] how some boys were able to make the harmonica howl like that.' (JMF1994: 51)

(15) c. *[Panna tahld siene Rootzenten]*

[Penner counted his red.cents]

ea he dee derch 'e Finjasch ***leet***$_1$ ***jleppen***$_2$

before he them through the fingers let slip:INF

'[Penner counted his pennies] before he let them slip through his fingers.'

(JMF1994: 37)

(15) d. *[Soona es leicht to kjane / Dee daut nich gaunz vesteiht //]*

[such.M is easy to recognize:INF REL that not entirely understands]

Wiel he sikj ***lat***$_1$ ***berä̈de***$_2$ *\/ [Un onschuldig metjeiht]*

because he REFL lets persuade:INF [and innocent goes.along]

'[Someone who doesn't completely understand it (i.e. hat shopping) / Is easy to pick out] / Because he allows himself to be persuaded / [And innocently goes along.]' (RE1972: 30)

Other important subclasses of verbal constructions might be identified, as well, including control constructions (16a-c), purposive motion constructions (17a-d), potentative constructions (18a-c), and perception chain constructions (19a-d), among others, as well as less-general idiomatic expressions (20a-b) and possible constructional calques (21a-b). While this list is far from exhaustive, leaving open the possibility of additional classes of verbal constructions requiring consideration in the course of later analysis, the classes presented here offer an initial set of constructions which might be elaborated upon as corpus evidence warrants.

Control constructions in Mennonite Low German are expressed periphrastically, having the general form *X well haben [daut] Y sull Z* 'X wants to have [that] Y should Z'. As the parentheses in this schema indicate, the complementizer *daut* in control constructions would appear to be optional (contrast (16a) and (16b), which feature the complementizer (though still vary from one another with respect to word order), with (16c), where the complementizer is lacking). As well, the placement of the modal verb *sull* appears to be subject to variation, being attested in the corpus in both verb-second (16b-c) and other (16a) positions:

(16) a. *Dee* ***wullen***$_1$ *met aule Jewault* ***haben***$_2$ *daut Loot de Mana* ***sull***$_1$
they wanted with all force have:INF COMP Lot the men should
'ruutloten$_2$ *[un dee wudden*$_1$ *ahn haben*$_1$ *omjebrocht*$_3$*.]*
let.out:INF [and they would them have:INF kill:PTCP]
'They$_i$ most insistently wanted Lot to let the men out [and they$_i$ would have killed them]' (JMF2006: 16)

(16) b. *Se* ***wull***$_1$ *dan noch emol* ***haben***$_2$ *daut Jeat* ***sull***$_1$ *met ahr*
she wanted then yet once have:INF COMP George should with her
metkomen$_2$ *[oba däm siene Been hillden daut goanich ut.]*
come.along:INF [but DEM his legs held that not.at.all out]
'She wanted George to come along with her [but his legs couldn't take it.]' (JMF2005: 81)

(16) c. *Nu* ***wull***$_1$ *Noomi* ***haben***$_2$ *Rut* ***sull***$_1$ *sikj wada* ***befrieen***$_2$
now wanted Naomi have:INF Ruth should REFL again marry:INF
[met een Maun dee heet Boaz.]
with a Man DEM is.called Boaz
'Now Naomi wanted Ruth to marry again [, (this time) with a man called

Boaz].' (JMF2006: 61)

Purposive motion constructions refer here to verbal complementation constructions in which complements specifying goal or end-state intention of the agent are introduced by verbs of motion, e.g. *gohnen* 'go', *komen* 'come', *foahren* 'drive', and perhaps even *schekjen* 'send', *rollen* 'roll', and phrases such as *sikj opp'em Waig jäwen* 'to depart':

(17) a. *Pape, de Oabeida un Otje* ***gohnen***$_1$ *de Kjikjel, Klucken un*

papa the worker and Agatha.DIM go the chicks hens and

Klotjes ***beseehnen***$_2$.

cages inspect:INF

'Papa, the worker, and little Agatha go to take a look at the chicks, hens, and cages.' (JMF1994: 67)

(17) b. *[Doa woaren*$_1$ *gootschekjs uk sennen*$_2$ *Oame mank 'e Molochnaya*

there will probably also be:INF poor:PL among the Molochnaya:PL

jewast$_3$*,] wiel atelje* ***komen***$_1$ *noh de Chortitza* ***prachren***$_2$.

be:PTCP because some come to the Chortitza beg:INF

'[There were likely poor people among the Molochnaya settlers, too,] since some came to the Chortitza (colony) to beg.' (JMF2001: 25)

(17) c. *['Et wea de selwje Voda / Daut tweede Kjind nu doa //*

it was the same father the second child now there

Waut ahn nu uk jestorwe, /] Un he ***begrowe***$_2$ ***fuah***$_1$.

REL them now also die:PTCP and he bury:INF drove

'[It was the same father / The second child of theirs now there //

Which had died /] And he drove to bury.' (RE1972: 40)

(17) d. *[Ahm dreemt] sien Baus* ***schekjt***$_1$ *ahm* ***foahren***$_2$ *'en Feeda Hei* ***vekjeepen***$_3$.

him dreams his boss sends him drive:INF a feeder hay sell:INF

'He dreams (that) his boss sends him driving to sell a feeder of hay.'

(JMF1994: 46)

Such purposive motion constructions are not to be mistaken for potentative constructions, however, which may also involve the verb *gohnen* (though in such constructions having the meaning 'be able to'), but further include the auxiliary *sennen* 'to be'. Potentative constructions differ from purpose motion constructions not only in the range of verbs which they allow to introduce verbal complements (the former being more restricted than the latter), but also in their morphosyntactic marking and semantic interpretation. The complements of *gohnen* and *sennen* in potentative constructions appear with a preposed *too* 'to' infinitival marker, and are interpreted as being possible, potential, or feasible events.

(18) a. *De Kuss* ***wea***$_1$ *äwa de gaunze Zugkoa* ***too hearen***$_2$.

the kiss was over the whole train.car to hear:INF

'The kiss could be heard throughout the entire train car.' (JMF2001: 74)

(18) b. *Dee* ***jeiht***$_1$ ***ut-too-pluggen***$_2$, *[een grootet Jlekj]*

DEM goes out-to-plug:INF a great luck

'It can be unplugged, luckily enough.' (JMF2005: 56)

(18) c. *[Dee wudd*$_1$ *boold vestieme*$_2$*] daut doa muscht von* ***too seehne***$_3$

DEM would soon snow.over:INF COMP there nothing of to see:INF

***wudd*$_1$ *senne*$_2$**, *[un boold **wudd**$_1$ 'et diesta **woare**$_2$.]*

would be:INF, and soon would it dark become:INF

'[It would soon snow over in the storm] so that no part of it would be visible, [and it would soon be dark.] ' (RE1972: 56)

Perception chain constructions are similar to purposive motion constructions in their form – both require verbal complements to appear as 'bare' infinitives, without a preposed *too* infinitival marker. As their name suggests, however, perception chain constructions require verbs of perception, rather than motion, to introduce verbal complements, which are often ongoing, rather than stative events:

(19) a. *[Menschen saijen Manitoba es soo jlikj, wann eenem sien Hund*

people say Manitoba is so flat when one.ACC his dog

utkjnippt,] kaun$_1$ *eena dän fe' dree Doag* ***seehn'***$_2$ ***ranen***$_3$.

runs.away can one DEM for three days see:INF run:INF

'[People say Manitoba is so flat (that) when your dog takes off,] you can see it run for three days.' (JMF1994: 14)

(19) b. *[Dee fluage aus Odlasch] aus ekj ahn* ***sag***$_1$ ***kome***$_2$

DEM flew like eagles as I them saw come:INF

'[They flew like eagles] as I saw them coming.' (RE1972: 22)

(19) c. *[Mi haud aul lang waut jeploagt]*

me had already long something bother:PTCP

äwa waut ekj een Prädja ***head***$_1$ ***saijen***$_2$.

over REL I a preacher heard say:INF

'[Something] I had heard a preacher say [had been bothering me for a long time].' (JMF1994: 75)

(19) d. *Een scheena Dag* ***head***$_1$ *ekj doa wua / Em Ama Bäare* ***plumpse***$_2$
one nice day heard I there somewhere in.the pail berries drop:INF
'One fine day I heard / Berries dropping into a pail somewhere.'
(RE1972: 11)

Finally, examples of both idiomatic constructions and syntactic calques might be identified in the present corpus, as well. Among the former constructions are counted lexically-fixed expressions involving verbal complementation (20a), as well as expressions in which some, though not all, parts of the construction are open to elaboration, as in the 'be so kind as to' construction in (20b). While some care must be taken when attempting to identify syntactic calques in Mennonite Low German which originate in English, given the close genetic relationship between the two languages, clear examples of constructional borrowings such as (21a) and (21b) might still be found.

(20) a. *Daut* ***sull***$_1$ *eenem doch de Hund* ***holen***$_2$.
that should one.ACC yet the dog fetch:INF
'That is terrible.' (lit. 'The dog should fetch that for you.') (JMF1994: 43)

(20) b. *[En 'e Städ de Tiaren nu emol hundat un feftig Miel metfeahren,*
in the stead the animals now once 100 and 50 miles take.with:INF
haud$_1$ *Nekjel sest jedocht*$_2$ *von sien Noba Jils Lauzhua*
had Nickel otherwise think:PTCP of his neighbour Julius Lauzhua

froagen,] auf he nich ***wudd***$_1$ *soo goot* ***sennen***$_2$ *un de Tiaren*
ask:INF whether he not would so good be:INF and the animals
hannähmen$_2$ *toom Somma.*
adopt:INF to.the summer
'[Instead of bringing the animals along for 150 miles, Nickel had thought of asking his neighbour Julius Lauzhua] if he would be so kind as to take the animals for the summer.' (JMF2005: 90)

(21) a. *[Jäab un Iesak send 'sikj meteenmol eenig]*
Jake and Isaac are REFL suddenly in.agreement
se ***bäta packen opp*** *un seehnen trigj noh Saskatchewan too komen*
they better pack up and see back to Saskatchewan to come:INF
[wiel 'se noch 'en Poa Dola en 'e Fupp ha'n.]
while they still a couple dollars in the pocket have
'[Jake and Isaac suddenly agree:] they better pack up and see to getting back to Saskatchewan [while they still have a couple dollars in their pockets.]' (JMF1994: 42)

(21) b. *[Kain meend,] "****es***$_1$ *daut* ***opp too mi*** *noh ahm* ***opp-too-paussen***$_2$*?"*
Cain opined is that up to me after him ADV-to-look.out:INF
'[Cain said,] "Is it up to me to look after him?"' (JMF2006: 6)

It should be emphasized here that this overview of verbal constructions is necessarily incomplete, and likely far from exhaustive. Other verbal constructions, some potentially relevant to the analysis of verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German, might be expected to be identified, in the present corpus as elsewhere. A more thorough treatment of verbal constructions in Mennonite Low German, however, would be beyond the scope of this study, requiring attention not only to the full range of constructions attested in the corpus, but also more than passing consideration of potential semantic and syntactic restrictions upon the acceptability of different lexical instantiations of the identified constructions, collocational patterns observed between their component parts, and the extent to which these individual constructions might be seen to interact with each other and with other syntactic patterns identified in the language. Without seeking to defend these limitations, this overview nevertheless serves to exemplify several distinct and prominent families of constructions which permit verbal complementation, and which may thus potentially demonstrate differing patterns of morphosyntactic marking and / or linear constituent ordering. Where appropriate, then, the remainder of this study will make reference to the construction types identified in this section, seeking to bring attention to patterns of variation within and across these constructions evidenced in the corpus data.

It bears emphasizing that such variation in linear ordering, as noted in the surveyed construction types, would appear altogether commonplace in Mennonite Low German. Even the foundational distinction in verb placement commonly presumed to hold between main clauses (V_2) and embedded clauses (V_{Final}) would appear more complex than this generalization itself suggests, with embedded clauses occasionally displaying main-clause verb placements and demonstrating a considerable range of acceptable positions for the finite verb in the final verb cluster. Taken together with the aspects of morphosyntactic marking discussed in the following section, developing a description of this variation in linear order from a constructional perspective represents a chief focus of subsequent analysis.

3.2. STATUS GOVERNMENT, VERB CLASSES, AND COMPLEMENT PLACEMENT RESTRICTIONS.

Having given consideration in the previous section to the linear ordering of both verbal and non-verbal constituents in several common classes of verbal constructions in Mennonite Low German, a topic which will be revisited in a different context within this section, primary attention now turns to the morphological features characteristic of verbal complementation in Mennonite Low German, and in particular to the concepts of *status* and *status government*. Both terms are ultimately derived from the work of Gunnar Bech on the analysis of German infinitival verbs (e.g. Bech 1955, 1957), although they appear to have enjoyed widespread adoption since then in much of the literature on Continental West Germanic syntax (cf. Meurers 2000), and are therefore assumed here as part of the initial descriptive apparatus, as well.

Status refers in this study to the morphological marking with which verbal elements appear, whether as fully-inflected, finite verbs (e.g. *rant* 'runs'); bare infinitives (e.g. *ranen* '(to) run'); infinitives with a preposed *too* infinitival marker (e.g. *too ranen* 'to run'); or perfective participles (e.g. *jerant* '(has) run'). Bech (1955: 12) proposes that numbers might be assigned to refer to each of these morphological forms: traditionally, first status has been taken to refer to bare infinitives, second status to *too*-infinitives, third status to perfective participles, and 'zero-th' or null status (occasionally, though not apparently in the original system advanced by Bech, which refers only to infinitival forms) to finite verbs.[20] Corpus examples of each of these status categories as evidenced in Mennonite Low German for both authors are presented below, with verbs appearing in the relevant status given in boldface.

Null status: Inflected finite verbs

(22) a. *Du* ***mottst***$_1$ *doch aul emol jeheat*$_3$ *ha'n*$_2$ *opp wooväl Wäaj*
You must yet already once hear:PTCP have:INF on how.many ways
wi ***kjennen***$_1$ *saijen*$_2$ *daut* ***räajent*** *un donn* ***reajd*** *he opp, daut* ***plenjat,***
we can say:INF it rains and then listed he ADV it dribbles
daut ***kjwiddat, spiggt, dreppelt, jitt, klaikjat,***
it continuously.rains.lightly spits rains.light.drops pours dribbles
soddat *un daut* ***räajent,*** *['ne scheene Sproak.]*
rains.heavily and it rains a beautiful language
"'You must have already heard how many ways we can say 'it's raining' (in Mennonite Low German)," and then he listed off: 'it's dribbling', 'it keeps raining lightly', 'it's spitting', 'it's dripping light drops', 'it's pouring', 'it's dribbling', 'it's raining solidly' and 'it's raining' – [a beautiful language].'
(JMF1994: 1)

---

[20] Bech (1955:12) further distinguishes between supine and participial 'levels' (*Stufen*) of infinitives, with the latter receiving adjective-like inflection for gender, case, number, etc. not found in the latter. The present study limits itself to consideration of supine forms, i.e. to infinitives not appearing in either attributive or predicative adjectival constructions.

(22) b. *Oba aus de Storm aunjekome*$_2$ ***wea***$_1$*, un he doa aunjefroagt*$_2$ ***haud***$_1$

but as the storm approach:PTCP was and he there inquire:PTCP had

auf 'et nich gohne$_2$ ***wudd***$_1$ *daut se ahm äwanacht* ***hillde, haud***$_1$ *de*

whether it not go:INF would COMP they him over.night kept had the

Fruu ahm 'ruutjewäse$_2$.

woman him show.out:PTCP

'But as the storm approached and he had asked whether or not it would be possible for them to let him stay the night, the woman showed him out (of the house).' (RE1972: 56)

First status: Bare infinitives

(23) a. *Daut kunn*$_1$ *eena* ***jeete***$_2$, ***plenjre***$_2$, ***poasche***$_2$, ***plaudre***$_2$,

that could one pour:INF dribble:INF pour.heavily:INF pour.gently:INF

schulpse$_2$, ***speele***$_2$ *un* ***kjweddre***$_2$.

slosh:INF splash:INF and drip:INF

'You could pour it, dribble it, pour it gently, pour it heavily, slosh it, splash it, and drip it.' (RE1972: 81)

(23) b. *Hia* ***kunn***$_1$ *he siene Fuah Veeh too Nacht* ***aufloden***$_2$, ***foodren***$_2$ *un*

here could he his load cattle to night unload:INF feed:INF and

dränkjen$_2$ *un s'morje's wada* ***wiedareisen***$_2$.

give.water:INF and in.the.morning again journey.on:INF

'Here he could unload his load of cattle for the night, give them feed and water and keep going in the morning.' (JMF2001: 19)

Second status: Too-infinitives

(24) a. *Ekj wea$_1$ jebuaren$_2$ een Kjeenig* ***too sennen$_3$*** *un de Woahrheit* ***too leahren$_3$***

I was bear:PTCP a king to be:INF and the truth to teach:INF

'I was born to be a king and to teach the truth.' (JMF2006: 128)

(24) b. *He wisst woo jefäahlich daut wea$_1$ eenmol en soon Onwadda*

he knew how dangerous that was once in such bad.weather

loostoolaije$_2$ *toom de denne Jleis äwa 're Stap met Pead un*

depart:INF in.order.to the thin track over the field with horses and

Schläde ***nohtoofoahre.***

sleigh follow.after:INF

'He knew how dangerous it was to depart in such bad weather to follow the thin track over the field with horse and sleigh.' (RE1972: 56)

Third status: Perfective participles

(25) a. *Wann bi dän eenmol* ***vetahlt$_2$*** *word$_1$ daut sikj een Poa Junges* ***vedrascht$_2$***

when by DEM once tell:PTCP was COMP REFL a pair boys beat.up:PTCP

haude$_1$, dann säde de Bickjats daut de Junges sikj unjanaunda

had then said the Bueckerts COMP the boys REFL amongst.themselves

de Kjap ***veneedt$_2$*** *haude$_1$.*

the heads rivet:PTCP had

'At their place, when it was told that a couple of boys had beaten each other up, then the Bueckerts said that the boys had riveted each others' heads.' (RE1972: 81)

(25) b. *Een Morjen aus Oohm Panna haft*$_1$ *niee Fleajenbommels* ***oppjehongen***$_2$,
one morning as *Oohm* Penner has new fly.strips hang.up:PTCP
kraikt ***utjefäagt***$_2$, *Pripps un Howajrett* ***jekoakt***$_2$ *[donn sitt he*
neatly sweep.up:PTCP postum and oatmeal cook:PTCP then sees he
derch 'em Fensta dod hällt een Foahtig ver 'e Däa stell.]
through the window there holds a vehicle before the door still
'One morning, as *Oohm* (mister, minister) Penner had hung up new fly
strips, neatly swept the floor, and made postum and oatmeal, he sees
through the window (that) a vehicle is stopped in front of the door.'
(JMF2005: 82)

While status is suggested to represent a morphological property unique to infinitives, Bech (1955) perceives certain similarities between the patterns common to status marking and the assignment of case inflection. In his analysis, Bech presents arguments for viewing status assignment as being governed by individual sentential elements, with each such element essentially determining the status of its infinitival complement(s).[21] Sequences of verbal complementation, then, might be construed on this view as instantiating a hypotactic chain of status government (*Statusrektion*), one analogous to the relationship holding between case-governing elements and their dependents, noting that, like case, only one status may be marked on a status-bearing element at a time, and that identical status is required of coordinate complements (cf. Bech 1955: 15-6).

---

[21] Bech (1955: 15) makes no explicit restriction of status government to verbs alone, instead proposing that 'a given status can be governed by any neighbouring element, e.g. by a verb' ("*Ein bestimmter status kann von irgend einem benachbarten element, z. b. von einem verbum, regiert sein.*") – thus potentially allowing status to be governed by adjectival, nominal, and other constructions, as well.

From a constructional perspective, the former proposal – that individual elements determine the status of their complements – might be reformulated in terms of the membership of these elements in different constructions which govern morphological marking. That is, on the constructional view, it is not the elements themselves which determine status assignment *per se*, but rather such elements' membership in different complementation constructions, each of which may require certain statuses to be assigned to their verbal components. Both positions appear capable of representing the intuition that status assignment for individual verbs may indeed be quite consistent, in cases much more so even than the linear ordering of the verbal constituents they introduce. One potential problem for the construal of status government as either a subcategorization restriction or some other form of morphological feature required of complements by the lexical specifications of individual verbs, however, is variation in status government. Where certain cases of status government are likely clear-cut – Bech (1955: 15-6) cites *wollen* 'to want' as governing only the first status in Standard German, and *wünschen* 'to wish' as governing only the second status, for instance – what is to be presumed when a verb may govern two distinct statuses, as in the case of *sennen* 'to be' in Mennonite Low German? As noted earlier, *sennen* may appear in potentative constructions, where it governs second status (26a), or in perfective constructions, where it governs third status (26b):

(26) a. *Filopp* ***wea***$_1$ *noanich wua* ***too seehn'***$_2$.

Philip was nowhere somewhere to see:INF

'Philip was nowhere at all to be seen.' (JMF1994: 58)

(26) b. *[Oant wea sikj secha, Peeta wudd*$_1$ *daut aula haben*$_2$ *behoolen*$_3$*]*
Aaron was REFL sure Peter would that all have:INF remember:PTCP
woo daut doa eene Tiet ***jewast***$_2$ ***wea***$_1$.
how that there one time be:PTCP was
'[Aaron was sure (that) Peter would have remembered] how it had once been there.' (JMF2005: 17)

A dilemma would appear to face the lexical specification approach to the analysis of status: are two separate lexical entries for *sennen* to be presumed, although little apparent difference is found in the meaning of the verb proper and no differences at all in its form? Or, is one lexical entry to be proposed which subsumes both status government variants, despite the observed differences in the marking of their complements? In the absence of additional distributional or semantic criteria by which to distinguish between these cases, the analyst would appear bound here to making the unpleasant choice between proposing separate theoretical entities to represent status-government variants which, in all other respects, appear essentially identical; or proposing a single theoretical entity which subsumes such variants, thus emphasizing their shared traits over their distinct status government patterns. A constructional approach, while certainly not beyond criticism, might avoid this particular problem of 'lumping' and 'splitting' (cf. Croft 2001: 32) by permitting a single verb (e.g. *sennen*) to have currency in more than one verbal complementation construction, each of which may define a separate status (and, potentially, a distinct semantic interpretation) for complements of the verb. In arguing status government to be a property of the construction, rather than of the individual verb, constructional approaches to status government allow descriptive attention to be given to fine distinctions in the status assignment patterns of individual verbs without requiring redundancy to be postulated in these verbs' lexical representations. Variation in status government might thus be viewed not only as a consequence of lexical specification, but also of verbs' variable memberships in different classes of constructions, with such patterns potentially varying across speakers, registers, and dialects.

This variation in status government might be perceived in the summary presented in Table 3.1 of status government patterns across general classes of verbs, divided here into auxiliary (e.g. perfective *haben* 'have' and *sennen* 'be', passive *woaren* 'be, become'), modal (e.g. *kjennen* 'can', *sellen* 'shall', *mäajen* 'wish to', *derwen* 'may', *woaren* 'will', as well as *doonen* 'do' and *wellen* 'want'; on the inclusion of verbs such as the latter two in the category of 'pseudo-modals', cf. Lötscher 1978), and lexical (all other verbs).[22] The absence of the null status from this table (no verbs govern complements of null status – that is, no verb, finite or infinitival, introduces a finite verb as its complement) and the presence of a column noting instances of *infinitivus-pro-participio* (where the governed verb is expected to be participial, but instead appears to resemble a bare infinitive; while these might therefore be treated as members of the first status category, they would appear to represent a special case within such constructions, and have accordingly been presented in a separate column here) aside, what might immediately be taken from this summary is the apparent 'preference' of certain classes of verbs for complements of certain statuses. While lexical verbs commonly take complements in both first and second status, rarely do they appear to introduce participles. By contrast, auxiliaries may occasionally have complements in first and second status (and are the only category of verbs to introduce IPP effects, it would seem), but they would appear most commonly to feature participial complements, while modal verbs overwhelmingly favour first-status complements, rarely introducing participles. Even at this level of abstraction from the individual verbs under consideration, then, variation in status government would seem evident.

---

[22] The categories of auxiliary, modal, and lexical verbs introduced here are an intentionally simple form of verbal classification, intended primarily to facilitate further discussion of verbal syntax, rather than to serve as a fully sufficient taxonomy of verbal classes. It should be noted that the verbs *haben* 'have' and *sennen* 'be' are assigned to the class of 'auxiliary' verbs even when serving to introduce copular adjectives or nominals, as in (30a) and (30b).

	1. Status (Bare Infinitive)	2. Status (Too-Infinitive)	3. Status (Participle)	IPP
Auxiliary	14 (12 / 2)	126 (100 / 26)	1630 (1347 / 283)	96 (84 / 12)
Lexical	425 (403 / 22)	417 (347 / 70)	12 (11 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)
Modal	2262 (1904 / 358)	0 (0 / 0)	14 (14 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)

Table 3.1. Summary of status government patterns for auxiliary, lexical, and modal verbs in the tagged subcorpus (*n* = 4996). For each class of verb, the total number of occurrences of complements having a particular status is given initially, followed in parenthesis by the number of such occurrences found in the works of JMF and RE, respectively.

Attention to the elements which appear in the less-populated areas of this table would appear instructive, providing potentially useful information on variability in and across these constructions. Lexical verbs governing third-status complements, of which twelve instances are attested in the tagged subcorpus, would appear to be of a quite distinctive character, comprising three patterns: first, constructions involving forms of the verb *kjrieen* 'get' and a complement participle (27a-c); second, constructions (only found in JMF) involving *bruken* 'need' and a participle (28a, 28b); and third, constructions (again only noted in JMF) involving *bliewen* 'stay, remain' and a participle (29a, 29b).

Lexical verbs with participial complements: kjrieen *'get'*

(27) a. *[Susch meend, wausch opp un fäaj ut un soo sorj]*
Sarah opined wash:IMP up and sweep:IMP out and so take.care:IMP
daut du di weens emol ***jeputzt***$_2$ ***kjriggst***$_1$ *[bat ekj trigj senn.]*
COMP you REFL at.least once shave:PTCP get by I back am
'[Sarah said, "Wash the dishes and sweep up and be sure] that you at least get shaved [by the time I get back."]' (JMF2005: 48)

(27) b. *[Aus he noch 'en Bät jinja wea un de Junges em Darp*
as he still a bit younger was and the boys in.the village
toopkjeemen dan word jeboxt un Jehaun doa medden mank] wann
came.together then was box:PTCP and John there middle among if
'ah eenzjemol uk goot ***veknufft***$_2$ ***kjrieeg***$_1$.
he sometimes also good beat:PTCP got
'[When he was a bit younger and the boys in the village got together, then there was boxing and John right in the middle of it,] even if he got a good beating sometimes.' (JMF1994: 60)

(27) c. *[Un bi miene Grootmutta em Huus wea daut soo scheen enjerecht*

and by my grandmother in.the house was it so nice arrange:PTCP

met 'em Sot knacke un Schalle utspiee] daut doa kjeena

with the seeds crack:INF and shells spit.out:INF COMP there no.one

***utjeloamt*$_2$ *kjrieeg*$_1$** *[wäajen irjend Schwienerie moake.]*

scold.PTCP got because.of any mess make:INF

'[And there was such a nice arrangement at my grandmother's house with cracking seeds and spitting out the shells] that no-one got bawled out there [for making any kind of mess.]' (RE1972: 93)

Lexical verbs with participial complements: bruken *'need'*

(28) a. *[Een Dingj, hia wea mea Schulinj aus opp de kohle Stap em*

one thing here was more shelter than on the bald prairie in.the

Sieden] un hia ***brukd*$_1$** *nich Mest* ***jeläst*$_2$** *toom hetten.*

south and here needed not manure gather:PTCP to heat:INF

'[For one thing, there was more shelter here than on the bald prairie in the south, and here there wasn't any need to gather manure for heating.' (JMF1994: 62)

(28) b. *[Jo, de Lekjläpels hauden*$_1$ *daut emma een Bät soo too hoolen*$_2$*,]*

yes the Lekjläpels had that always a bit so to hold:INF

ahn ***brukd*$_1$** *nich* ***väajesaigt*$_2$***.*

them needed not order:PTCP

'[Yes, the Lekjläpels had always been of the conviction,] no-one needed to tell them what to do.' (JMF2005: 100)

Lexical verbs with participial complements: bliewen *'stay, remain'*

(29) a. *[He haud$_1$ Abraham vesproaken$_2$, wann doa tieen jeraichte Menschen*

he had Abraham promise:PTCP if there ten righteous people

wearen,] dan wudd$_1$ Sodom un Gamorra ***veschoont$_3$ bliewen$_2$***.

were then would Sodom and Gamorra protect:PTCP remain:INF

'[He had promised Abraham, if there were ten righteous people,] then

Sodom and Gamorra would be spared.' (JMF2006: 15)

(29) b. *De Israeliten wudden$_1$* ***veschoont$_3$ bliewen$_2$*** *[wann se wudden$_1$ soo*

the Israelites would protect:PTCP remain:INF if they would so

doonen$_2$ aus ahn väajesaigt$_2$ wea$_1$.]

do:INF as them order:PTCP was

'The Israelites would be spared [if they did as they were commanded.]'

(JMF2006: 42)

The first of these patterns (i.e. *kjrieen* + participle) would appear to have a resultative function, comparable to the English *get* + participle construction, in which the end-state is specified by the participial verb (cf. Hooge 1974: 397). The second pattern, *bruken* + participle, might be viewed as an extension of the elliptic passive construction reviewed earlier, albeit with *bruken* instead of *motten*: in all of the example sentences cited here, an optional passive auxiliary might be introduced without any change in meaning. The third pattern, *bliewen* + participle, is limited in the present sample to the phrase *veschoont bliewen* 'to be spared', though other complement verbs not attested in the corpus may be possible. In the case of the latter two constructions, some care must be taken not to overgeneralize, given their extremely sparse representation in the present data (only two attested instances of each construction in the tagged subcorpus).

In a similar fashion, one might consider the set of auxiliary verbs governing first-status complements, of which there are fourteen instances in the tagged subcorpus. All such cases, it turns out, are introduced by the auxiliary *sennen* 'be', and generally appear to comprise larger copular adjectival or nominal phrases:[23]

(30) a. *[Aus wi donn von 'e School noh-huus kjeemen,]* ***wea**$_1$* *wi* ***behälplich*,**
as we then from the school to-house came were we helpful
Pead ***besorjen**$_2$*, *Jreewen* ***reahren**$_2$* *un Holt* ***spoolen**$_3$*.
horses take.care.of:INF cracklings stir:INF and wood chop:INF
'[When we got home from school,] we were helpful in taking care of the horses, stirring cracklings, and chopping wood.' (JMF1994: 49)

(30) b. *[Ekj wudd 'en Maun jleichen] waut doa wudd$_1$* ***wellig senn'**$_2$* *ut 'en*
I would a man like:INF REL there would willing be:INF out a
woamet Bad ***'eruttoohuppsen**$_3$* *bi dartig Grod kolt,* ***dreihen**$_3$* *dän*
warm bed jump.out:INF by thirty degrees cold turn:INF the
Kjätel ***aun un pleajen**$_3$* *dän Utwaig op,* *[daut de Schoolboss kunn$_1$*
tractor on and plow:INF the exit open COMP the school.bus could

---

[23] The one exception among these fourteen sentences is *Di* ***es**$_1$* *goot* ***räden**$_2$*, *[du haudst$_1$ mau sullt$_2$ 'en Poa Nacht unj 'rem Schefott ligjen$_3$.]* 'You're one to talk – [you should've spent a couple nights lying under the porch.]' (JMF2001: 64), which centres around the initial idiomatic phrase.

derchfoahren$_2$.]

drive.through:INF

'[I would like a man] who would be willing to jump out of a warm bed when it's thirty below zero, start the tractor, and plow open the driveway [so that the school bus could drive through.]' (JMF1994: 51)

(30) c. *Daut wea$_1$* ***ahr too väl*** ***jewäse$_2$***, *een wild-framda Maun eenmol* ***lote$_3$***

that was her too much be:PTCP a wild-unfamiliar man once let:INF

bi ahn en 'e Bood opp 'e Flua schlope$_4$.

by them in the den on the floor sleep:INF

'It was too much for her to let a complete stranger sleep on the floor of their den.' (RE1972: 56)

(30) d. *[Wann du nich weetst,]* ***es$_1$ 'et miene Pflicht*** *aus Rechta diene*

if you not know is it my duty as judge your

Aungow aus onschuldig en-too-schriewe$_3$ ***lote$_2$***.

plea as innocent in-to-write:INF let:INF

'[If you don't know,] it is my duty as judge to have your plea registered as innocent.' (RE1972: 89)

Such examples are interesting not only for the attention they bring to the distinct complementation patterns associated with some larger phrases (e.g. *behälplich sennen* 'to be helpful', *wellig sennen* 'to be willing', etc.), but also for the light they shed upon status government and the syntactic behaviour of *too* under coordination. Examples (30a) and (30b) illustrate opposing patterns of status marking under coordination: in the former case, all coordinate infinitives invariably demonstrate first status, while in the latter, an initial *too*-infinitive (i.e. *eruttoohuppsen* 'to jump out') is followed by several coordinate infinitives lacking *too*, and thus taken here to be in first status. That is, it would appear that coordinate *too*-infinitives in Mennonite Low German may not require the *too* infinitival marker to be repeated, as is the case in Standard German (cf. Bech 1955: 16). Such repeated infinitival markers would not seem to be prohibited, however, as examples (31a-b) demonstrate; rather, second-status infinitives would appear free to omit repeated morphological marking under coordination.[24]

(31) a. *[S'owends fraigt 'se Pape doawäajen un dee meent bloos fuats,*
in.evening asks she Papa about.that and DEM opines just immediately
de Stekja Klucken,] dee ***fählt***$_1$ *en 'ne Tonn Wota* ***en-too-ducken***$_2$ *un*
the pieces hens DEM needs in a barrel water in-to-dip:INF and
dan em Klotje ***too stoppen***$_2$*, [daut 's aules.]*
then in.the cage to stuff:INF that is all
'[In the evening, she asks Papa about that and he immediately says, "Those stupid hens, they need to be dunked in the water barrel and put in their cages, [that's all.]' (JMF1994: 67)

(31) b. *Ekj* ***proowd***$_1$ *je dann uk eenzjemol emol huagdietsch* ***too senne***$_2$ *un*
I tried EMPH then also sometimes once High.German to be:INF and

---

[24] In rare cases, the first of two infinitives might appear in first status, and the second in second status, e.g. *Daut* ***es***$_1$ *bäta* ***stell senn'***$_2$ *un 'en Daumelskopp jedocht*$_3$ ***too senn'***$_2$ *[aus de't Muul opmoaken daut doa kjeen Twiewel es.]* 'It is better to be quiet (first status) and to be thought a fool (second status) [than to open one's mouth so that there is no doubt.]' (JMF1994: 20).

Huagdietsch ***too räde**$_2$*, *[oba mi wull daut schwoa faule.]*

High.German to speak:INF but me wanted that difficult fall:INF

'Then I tried sometimes to be High German and speak High German, [but that came difficultly to me.]' (RE1972: 79)

Moreover, example (30d) exhibits a noteworthy pattern with respect to the placement of the infinitival marker. Rather than appearing on *lote* 'let', as might be expected as the complement of *Pflicht senne* 'to be (one's) duty', the infinitival marker instead appears incorporated into the complement of *lote*, namely *enschriewe* 'register'. It might be suggested that *Pflicht senne* may have governed the first status of its complement *loten*, and *loten* the second status of its complement *enschriewe*. However, this pattern of status government would seem highly untypical for *lote*: of the 125 instances of *lote* taking a complement in the tagged subcorpus, 124 complements – that is, all other complements other than the one under consideration here – appear as bare infinitives, rather than as *too*-marked infinitives. It would thus seem more reasonable to conclude that *lote* generally governs first status, in this example as elsewhere, and that *too* infinitival marker appearing in *enwoare* stems from *Pflicht senne*, instead. A similar pattern of status government might be seen in example (13b), reproduced below as (32a), where the coordinate complements of *väajebrocht woare* 'to be brought forward', which presumably governs second status, both unexpectedly appear as bare infinitives (i.e. *woare*), and their complements receive the *too* infinitival marker (i.e. *too entlote*, *too veuadeelt*). The passive auxiliary *woare*, however, never occurs otherwise with a complement in second status, suggesting that *väajebrocht woare* has contributed the infinitival morphological marker. Likewise, in (32b), *sikj väajenohme habe* 'to have decided' would seem most likely to have introduced the infinitival marker which unexpectedly appears with *senne* 'to be', rather than with *welle* 'want', which governs first-status complements in all other cases.

This pattern might be cited as tentative evidence in favour of analyses in which the *too*-infinitival marker is treated as a kind of prefix to the verb, rather than a preposed free-standing morpheme or proclitic, given its apparent ability in examples such as (30d) to incorporate past separable verbal prefixes into a position immediately adjacent to the verb stem. If one views certain first status verbs as occasionally forming independent syntactic units with their complements at some level of interpretation (e.g. *(kluak) senne welle* 'want to be (clever)' representing a single verb cluster of two elements, rather than merely two adjacent verbs existing in a complementation relationship with one another), then this syntactic behaviour would seem somewhat more expected, with the infinitival marker assigned to this cluster appearing as close to the left-edge verb stem of the cluster as possible. This would seem one promising avenue for further investigation: as it stands, this pattern only appears to be attested in RE1972 in the tagged subcorpus, though this may be a matter of chance, rather than dialectal difference, given the general rarity of two-verb clusters appearing as complements of constructions governing the second status.

(32) a. *[Aus ekj toohorchd] woo aundre Aunjekloagde* ***väajebrocht***$_2$ ***worde***$_1$,
[As I listened] how other accused bring.forward:PTCP were

eenzje aus onschuldig ***too entlote$_4$*** ***woare$_3$*** *un aundre aus Schildna*

some as innocent to release:PTCP be:INF and others as guilty.people

too veuadeelt$_4$ ***woare$_3$****, [bemoakjd ekj daut 'et schweare uk ut 'em*

to judge:PTCP be:INF noticed I COMP the swearing also out the

Jerecht wea$_1$ jenohme$_3$ worde$_2$.]

court was take:PTCP be:PTCP

'[As I listened] how other accused individuals were brought forward, some to be released as innocent, and others to be judged guilty, [I noticed that the swearing (of oaths) had been removed from the court, as well.]'

(RE1972: 88)

(32) b. *Un wann nohäa eena von onse oole Oohmtjes, soona aus Äsel*

and when afterwards one of our old gentlemen such.M as donkey

Jauntze ooda Glomms Rampel, sikj daut ***väajenohme$_2$ haud$_1$*** *uk*

Jantzen or cottage.cheese Rempel REFL that decide:PTCP had also

soo kluak ***too senne$_4$ welle$_3$*** *aus de jeleahde Russlända,*

so clever to be:INF want:INF as the educated *Russländer*

[dann säd dee soo: "Na ja, nun wollen wir a'mal schmook

then said DEM so well yes now want we once nice

Hochdeitsch nabberen".]

High.German converse:INF

'And when one of our older gentlemen, someone like Donkey Jantzen or Cottage Cheese Rempel, decided afterwards to want to be as clever as

> the educated *Russländer* [post-Russian-Revolution Russian-Mennonite emigrant], then he said [in *Plautdietsch*-coloured Standard German]: “Well then, now let's visit in High German.”' (RE1972: 77)

In comparison to the range of constructions identified within lexical verbs governing the third status and auxiliary verbs governing the first status, modal verbs which govern third-status complements would appear much more uniform. All fourteen examples of modal verbs governing third-status complements are found in JMF, and all appear to represent instances of the elliptic passive construction identified earlier, with thirteen of these examples featuring forms of the modal *motten* 'must', and the remaining one a form of *sellen* 'shall'. Additional examples of this construction taken from this set of sentences are given in (33a) and (33b) below.

(33) a. *Nudlen* ***mussten***$_1$ *lang* ***jeschnäden***$_2$ *[aus gauf daut kjeen Jeschlurps.]*
noodles had.to long cut:PTCP else gave it no slurping
'Noodles had to (be) cut long, lest there be no slurping.' (JMF2005: 94)

(33) b. *[Wellem halpt Dee aula ut,] jo soona* ***saul***$_1$ ***jesocht***$_2$
William helps DEM all out yes such.M shall seek:PTCP
'William helps them all out; yes, one like that should (be) sought out.'
(JMF1994: 12)

While the inspection of these somewhat uncommon cases of status government would appear to be of benefit in the identification of distinct verbal complementation constructions, it might still be argued that it remains to be demonstrated that this apparent variability exists at the level of individual verbs, as well, i.e. as more than an artefact of the present tripartite scheme of verbal classification. Indeed, this would appear a to be valid challenge, one which might be addressed through more detailed consideration of the individual status government patterns of the verbs in question. Table 3.2 summarizes the status government patterns of each of the 113 distinct verbs which introduce verbal complements in the tagged subcorpus. Immediately apparent from an inspection of this table is the general tendency of verbs to govern a single status: less than one third of all verbs (33, 29.2%) are attested as introducing complements of more than one status type. Of these verbs, the majority (26) introduce first and second-status complements only, two (i.e. *motten* 'must', *sellen* 'shall') introduce first and third-status complements only, and the remaining five (i.e. *bliewen* 'stay, remain', *bruken* 'need, use', *haben* 'have', *kjrieen* 'get', *sennen* 'be') are attested to govern complements of all three statuses. Even amidst such variation in status government, it would appear typical for one status to be 'preferred' over another for particular verbs (e.g. *veseakjen* 'try', *fählen* 'lack, be missing', *loten* 'let', *meenen* 'mean', *moaken* 'make', and *foahren* 'drive', all of which have only a single instance of their non-dominant status attested).

On the whole, then, most verbs would appear relatively consistent in their status government patterns, with exceptions relegated to a minority of items. A more precise assessment of variability is hindered by the large number of verbs which rarely introduce verbal complements in the tagged subcorpus: less than a quarter of all verbs (25, 22.1%) offer twenty or more instances of verbal complementation, while well over a third (43, 38.1%) are attested only once as admitting a verbal complement. Nevertheless, the apparent regularity of status government for individual verbs would perhaps speak in favour of viewing status as a by-verb lexical property, should constructional context prove largely irrelevant. A more detailed consideration of those verbs which govern more than one status would therefore seem important in determining whether or not this is indeed the case. Such attention is given below to those five verbs having the widest range of attested complement statuses, namely *bliewen* 'stay, remain', *brucken* 'need, use', *haben* 'have', *kjrieen* 'get', and *sennen* 'be'.

Lemma	1. Status (Bare Infinitive)	2. Status (*Too*-Infinitive)	3. Status (Participle)	IPP
bedden 'ask, request'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(aun)beeden 'bid on'	3 (3 / 0)	3 (3 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
befählen 'command'	3 (3 / 0)	8 (8 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
bemeajen 'make an effort'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
beräden 'convince'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
beschluuten 'decide'	0 (0 / 0)	3 (3 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
besorjen 'take care of'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
bestallen 'order'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
bliewen 'stay, remain'	18 (18 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
brinjen 'bring'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(too)brinjen 'spend time'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(väa)brinjen 'present'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (0 / 2)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
bruken 'need, use'	17 (13 / 4)	1 (1 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
derwen 'may'	15 (12 / 3)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
diaren 'last'	1 (1 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
doonen 'do'	98 (96 / 2)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
dwinjen 'afford'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
eahren 'honour'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
entschluuten 'decide'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
erinneren 'remember'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
erlauben 'allow, permit'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(aun)fangen 'begin'	0 (0 / 0)	94 (81 / 13)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
feehlen 'feel'	1 (1 / 0)	4 (1 / 3)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
finjen 'find'	2 (2 / 0)	2 (0 / 2)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
foahren 'drive'	19 (18 / 1)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(rund)foahren 'drive around'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
freien 'rejoice, be happy'	0 (0 / 0)	3 (2 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
fählen 'lack, be missing'	1 (1 / 0)	19 (16 / 3)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
gohnen 'go'	33 (32 / 1)	16 (7 / 9)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(erut)gohnen 'go out'	2 (2 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
gruulen 'scare'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
haben 'have'	15 (15 / 0)	35 (31 / 4)	1025 (861 / 164)	86 (76 / 10)
halpen 'help'	20 (20 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(met)halpen 'help with'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
hearen 'hear'	25 (22 / 3)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(opp)hearen 'stop'	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
jankren 'entice'	1 (0 / 1)	3 (1 / 2)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
jebäaren 'give birth'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
jeroden 'achieve, manage'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
jleewen 'believe'	0 (0 / 0)	4 (4 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
jleichen 'like'	5 (5 / 0)	7 (7 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
jäwen 'give'	1 (1 / 0)	6 (6 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(opp)jäwen 'give up'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
kjennen 'can'	578 (485 / 93)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
kjneeen 'kneel'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
kjrieen 'get'	1 (1 / 0)	8 (8 / 0)	8 (7 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)

Lemma	1. Status (Bare Infinitive)	2. Status (*Too*-Infinitive)	3. Status (Participle)	IPP
komen 'come'	36 (35 / 1)	6 (6 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(han)komen 'arrive'	3 (3 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(noh)komen 'accomplish'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(reed)komen 'come ready'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(trigj)komen 'come back'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
kosten 'cost'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
kroagen 'invite'	0 (0 / 0)	5 (5 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(toop)kroagen 'invite together'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(aun)laijen 'lay on'	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
leahren 'learn; teach'	27 (25 / 2)	4 (3 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(ut)leahren 'educate, train'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (0 / 2)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
leiden 'suffer'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
lenkjen 'lead, guide'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
loohnen 'be worthwhile'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (0 / 2)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
loten 'let'	124 (117 / 7)	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
meenen 'opine; mean'	1 (1 / 0)	2 (1 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
moaken 'make'	5 (5 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(opp)moaken 'invent'	0 (0 / 0)	6 (6 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
motten 'must'	191 (153 / 38)	0 (0 / 0)	13 (13 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(opp)muntren 'cheer up'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
mäajen 'wish to'	52 (33 / 19)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
nähmen 'take'	1 (1 / 0)	3 (2 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(väa)nähmen 'decide'	0 (0 / 0)	6 (2 / 4)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(äwa)nähmen'take over'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
oabeiden 'work'	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
plonen 'plan'	1 (1 / 0)	4 (4 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
pralen 'speed'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
proowen 'try'	0 (0 / 0)	21 (7 / 14)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
rackren 'work hard'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
ranen 'run'	2 (2 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
reisen 'travel'	1 (1 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
rieden 'ride'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
rollen 'roll'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
roopen 'call'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(opp)räajen 'excite'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
saijen 'say'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
schaufen 'work'	7 (7 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
schekjen 'send'	5 (5 / 0)	8 (8 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(han)schekjen 'send thither'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
seehnen 'see'	24 (23 / 1)	6 (6 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
sellen 'shall'	260 (232 / 28)	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
sennen 'be'	15 (12 / 3)	118 (95 / 23)	332 (261 / 71)	10 (8 / 2)
spooden 'hurry'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(aun)spornen 'encourage'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
späahren 'feel'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(aun)stallen 'put on (event)'	1 (1 / 0)	4 (3 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)

Lemma	1. Status (Bare Infinitive)	2. Status (*Too*-Infinitive)	3. Status (Participle)	IPP
stemmen 'agree'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(aun)strenjen 'exert'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
sträwen 'strive'	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
vebeeden 'forbid'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
vejäten 'forget'	0 (0 / 0)	6 (6 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
veloten 'rely on'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
vemohnen 'admonish'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
veseakjen 'try'	1 (1 / 0)	28 (28 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
vespräakjen 'promise'	0 (0 / 0)	5 (5 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
vestohnen 'understand'	2 (2 / 0)	19 (16 / 3)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
wanken 'travel'	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
weeten 'know'	0 (0 / 0)	6 (6 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
wellen 'want'	263 (180 / 83)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
wenschen 'wish'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
woagen 'dare'	0 (0 / 0)	5 (5 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(eenig) woaren 'agree'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
(foadig) woaren 'manage'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
woaren 'be (passive aux.)'	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	273 (225 / 48)	0 (0 / 0)
woaren 'will (modal)'	805 (713 / 92)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
wäahren 'defend'	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
wählen 'vote, decide'	0 (0 / 0)	3 (3 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)

Table 3.2. Status government patterns of verbs in the tagged subcorpus ($n = 113$). Counts in each column indicate the total number of attested instances of such complementation, followed in parentheses by totals for JMF and RE, respectively.

In the case of *bliewen* 'remain, stay', first-status complements would appear to abound, representing 18 of the 21 attested instances of complementation, with a single second-status and two third-status complements also attested. The latter two participial complements have already been discussed in passing – they represent *veschoont bliewen* 'to be spared' – while the lone instance of a *too*-infinitive is presented in example (34), in the phrase *too wenschen bliewen* 'remain to be desired'.

(34) *[Aus ekj miene Fruu dit väalauss meend 'se, jo heat Heea, ekj späah*

as I my wife this read opined she yes EMPH honey I feel

daut, mi haft$_1$ 'et oppearenst jejlekjt$_2$ un daut wudd$_1$ 'sikj schlaicht
that me has it in.earnest be.lucky:PTCP and that would REFL bad
hearen$_2$ wann ekj säd,] doa ***bleef$_1$*** *eenzjemol waut* ***too wenschen$_2$***
hear:INF if I said there remained sometimes NOM.INDF to wish:INF
[oba wann ekj nich soo pinkjlich haud$_1$ de Kjlinjaklock oppjetrocken$_2$
but if I not so punctually had the alarm.clock wind.up:PTCP
un enjestalt$_2$, wurzhd$_1$ du vleicht saijen$_2$, ekj haud$_1$ opp dien Hamd
and set:PTCP would you maybe say:INF I had on your shirt
jeschlopen$_2$.]
sleep:PTCP

'[When I read this to my wife, she said, "Yes, honey, I feel that I've been very fortunate, and it would sound bad if I said] there was occasionally something left to be desired, [but if I hadn't wound and set the alarm clock so regularly, you might say I slept on your shirt.]' (JMF1994: 51)

This summary says little about those verbs which occur as first-status complements, however, and whether or not they are indeed as uniform as their grouping together here would suggest. In this instance, several classes of verbs might be identified from among the first-status complements: *bliewen* would appear to take the verb *läwen* 'to live, be alive' as its complement, meaning 'to stay alive', a possible phrasal borrowing from English; a range of position or posture verbs (e.g. *setten bliewen* 'remain sitting', *ligjen bliewen* 'remain lying', *hucken bliewen* 'remain crouching', *stohnen bliewen* 'remain standing'); as well as a possible metaphorical extension of *stohnen bliewen* 'remain standing' to refer to fixedness of opinion or insistence in five cases. Examples of each of these three classes are given in (35a-c) below; even within the morphologically-similar first-status complements, then, regularities might be noted in the classes of verbs which are seen to appear with *bliewen*.

(35) a. *[Ekj pracha di, kom schia ahr aun] soo daut se kaun*$_1$ ***läwen***$_3$ ***bliewen***$_2$.

I beg you come touch her ADV so COMP she can live:INF remain:INF

'[I beg you, come touch her] so that she can stay alive.' (JMF2006: 104)

(35) b. *Kjnals* ***blifft***$_1$ *em Statioonhuus opp 'e Bänkj* ***setten***$_2$.

Cornelius remains in.the station.house on the bench sit:INF

'Cornelius remains seated on the bench in the station house.' (JMF1994:46)

(35) c. *[De Utroopa well een hundat Dola Bott haben]*

the auctioneer wants a hundred dollar bid have:INF

un ***blifft***$_1$ *doa opp* ***stohnen***$_2$.

and remains there on stand:INF

'[The auctioneer wants a hundred dollar bid] and remains insistent about it.' (JMF2005: 21)

Several of the 'exceptional' examples of status government with *bruken* 'use, need' have already been discussed: the two cases of participial complementation noted represent elliptic passives. The single example of second-status government, given here as (36a), would appear less easily distinguished from first-status complementation, as in (36b) and (36c): even holding the complement verb constant between (36a) and (36b), or the inflectional features of the finite verb between (36a) and (36c), both second and first statuses are attested. Nor would the lack of negation in (36a), a feature which characteristically accompanies *bruken*, seem to explain second-status government here, as the non-negated (36c) suggests. It may be the case that some other feature not considered here (or easily compared, given that only one example of second-status complementation with *bruken* is provided by the tagged subcorpus) may be predictive of status government here, or that this represents an area of productive variation, similar to that observed between first and second status government in certain lexical verbs. As the first-status complementation pattern of *bruken* would not appear restricted to any particular semantic class of lexical verbs (and in light of the variation noted above in status government even with a single verb), verbal semantics would seem unlikely predictors of this variation.

(36) a. *[Wann de Staulbexen eascht vebrukt wearen,]*
when the barn.trousers first worn.out were
brukd$_1$ *he bloos een Poa* ***too kjeepen$_2$*** *too opp grootsindoagsch.*
needed he just a pair to buy:INF for on Sunday's.best.ADJ
'[When the barn overalls finally wore out,] he only needed to buy a pair for special occasions (calling for Sunday's best).' (JMF2001: 51)

(36) b. *[Liestje saigt meteenmol, wann du mi emol eent von de Junges*
Elizabeth says suddenly if you me once one of the boys
t'huus leetst toom halpen$_1$ Dieeg kjnäden$_2$,] haud$_1$ 'wi nich ***'brukt$_2$***
at.home let to help:INF dough knead:INF had we not need:IPP

disse diare Maschien ***kjeepen***$_3$.
this expensive machine buy:INF
'[Elizabeth suddenly says, "If you left one of the boys at home to help me knead dough,] we wouldn't have needed to buy this expensive (bread) machine."' (JMF1994: 64)

(36) c. *[Zippelluach wisst goot,] he* ***brukd***$_1$ *bloos eenmol Bohnmeista*
Zippelluach knew good he needed just once railway.foreman
Koosalauskie ***froagen***$_2$, *[dee wudd*$_1$ *Noba Iesak Schwungraud*
Koosalauskie ask:INF DEM would neighbour Isaac Schwungraud
hanschekjen$_2$ *Bohn opphäwen*$_3$, *oba he haud*$_1$ *daut aul jeleaht*$_2$,
send.over:INF railway lift.up:INF but he had that already learn:PTCP
je weinja he fruag, je mea kjeem he met fuat.]
the less he asked the more came he with away
'[Zippelluach knew well], he only needed to ask foreman Koosalauskie [(and) he would send neighbour Isaac Schwungraud over to lift up the railway, but he (Zippelluach) had already learned, the less he asked, the more he came away with.]' (JMF1994: 70)

Similarities might be noted between certain constructions involving *bliewen* and those of *haben* 'have', as well. While *haben* would appear to occur overwhelmingly with third-status complements – a consequence of its participation in the perfective construction – much like *bliewen*, its first-status complements might be seen to include posture and position verbs (in the frame *haben* THING LOCATION POSTUREVERB), as in (37a-b). Other first-status constructions appear to centre around a possessed, often abstract nominal (e.g. *Tiet haben* 'have time', *Jlekj haben* 'have luck, be fortunate', *Spos haben* 'to have fun', *daut Vejneajen haben* 'have the pleasure of') or idiomatic expression (e.g. *'et / daut drock haben* 'to be busy'), as in examples (37c-e).

(37) a. *[Noch een Dingj,] Mame* ***haud***$_1$ *derchwaig 'en Taulglicht opp 'em*
yet one thing mama had usually a candle on the
Desch ***stohnen***$_2$.
table stand:INF
'[One more thing,] Mama usually had a candle standing on the table.'
(JMF1994: 69)

(37) b. *Susch* ***haud***$_1$ *emma meare Fleajenbommels en 'e Koakstow aun*
Sarah had always many fly.strips in the kitchen on
Bähn ***hänjen***$_2$ *[oba nu wea ahr daut bloos lang nich goot jenuag*
ceiling hang:INF but now was her that just long not good enough
daut doa doch soo väl Fleajen 'eroma bisden.]
COMP there yet so many flies around buzzed
'Sarah always had many fly strips hanging from the ceiling in the kitchen, [but now she found it unacceptable that so many flies were still buzzing around.]' (JMF2005: 78)

(37) c. *Dän Hoawst* ***ha'n***$_1$ *Jehaun un siene Fruu daut* ***drock***$_1$ ***methalpen***$_2$
DEM autumn have John and his wife it busy help.out:INF

Schwien schlachten$_3$.

pigs butcher:INF

'That fall, John and his wife are busy helping butcher pigs.' (JMF1994: 60)

(37) d. *[Junges leahden$_1$ Kjalwa schlenjen$_2$] un soogoa wi wäahloose*

boys learned calves lasso:INF and even we unarmed

Mennonitenbenjels ***hauden$_1$*** ***Spos*** *met 'em Slingshot, Blaichdoosen*

Mennonite.boys had fun with the slingshot tin.cans

vom Pohl ***'eraufscheeten$_2$.***

from.the pole shoot.off:INF

'[Boys learned to rope calves] and even we pacifist Mennonite boys had fun shooting tin cans off of the pole with a slingshot.' (JMF2001: 51)

(37) e. *[Ekj wea alf Joah oolt] un* ***haud$_1$*** *daut scheene* ***Vejneajen*** *jieda Morjen*

I was 11 year old and had the nice pleasure every morning

Staul ***utmesten$_2$.***

barn remove.manure:INF

'[I was eleven years old] and had the great pleasure of cleaning manure out of the barn every morning.' (JMF2005: 84)

Second-status complements of *haben* often appear to be similar, occurring with adverbial (e.g. *reed haben* 'to have ready') or abstract nominal (e.g. *Lost haben* 'to have enthusiasm', *Trubbel haben* 'to have trouble', and even *Tiet haben* 'to have time', which was noted to introduce first-status complements, as well) phrases, as exemplified by (38a-b).

(38) a. *[Een heeta Nohmeddag aus Kjnals auleen opp 'e Stap Hei hoakjen*$_2$
one hot afternoon as Cornelius alone on the field hay rake:INF
deit$_1$*, hällt 'ah stell too Vaspa oba eascht stoakt 'ah daut Heirekj voll]*
does holds he still to *Vaspa* but first pitches he the hay.rack full
daut 'ah 'en Feeda ***reed haft***$_1$ *s'owends* ***mettoonähmen***$_2$.
COMP he a wagon.load ready has in.evening take.along:INF
'[One hot afternoon as Cornelius is alone on the field raking hay, he stops for *Vaspa* [light afternoon meal] but first fills the hay rack so that he has a load ready to take along in the evening.' (JMF1994: 46)

(38) b. *[De Taunte saut un wundad sikj] woo soone Fruu en äah Staund*
the lady sat and be.amazed REFL how such.a woman in her situation
wudd$_1$ *utschaufen*$_2$ *un soo väl* ***Lost*** ***haben***$_2$ ***Menschen too***
would work:INF and so much enthusiasm have people to
bedeenen$_3$.
serve:INF
'[The lady sat and was amazed at] how a woman like that in her situation would work a job and have so much enthusiasm for serving people.' (JMF2005: 34)

With the possible exception of adverbial phrases and the idiomatic *haben too doonen met* 'have to do with', almost all second-status complements of *haben* would appear to be introduced by transitive phrases of the form *haben* NOMINAL *too* VERB, where the nominal is often an indefinite pronoun or abstract quantity (e.g. *nuscht too kloagen haben* 'to have nothing to complain (about)', *'en Deel too leahren haben* 'to have a lot to learn'). Whether or not there are finer patterns within these constructions remains to be determined; one might argue that *too hoolen haben* 'to get a hold of, grab (lit. 'to have to hold')' is idiomatic in at least some of its interpretations, where it can mean to hold an opinion, though more literal uses are attested, too.

(38) c. *[Ekj bild mi en daut musst opp 'ne Oat een Heenahohn senne]*
I got.idea REFL ADV that had.to on a sort a rooster be:INF
dee besonda waut met Knacksot ***too doone$_2$ haud$_1$***
REL especially something with sunflower.seeds to do:INF had
[dee vielleicht väl knackt.]
REL maybe much cracked
'[I got the idea, it had to be some kind of rooster] that had something to do particularly with sunflower seeds, [that maybe cracked lots (of seeds).]' (RE1972: 93)

(38) d. *[Buten juuld de Wind un bennen em Huus wea daut soo woam un*
outside howled the wind and inside in.the house was it so warm and
macklig,] wi ***hauden$_1$*** *bloos nuscht* ***too kloagen$_2$.***
cosy we had just nothing to complain:INF
'Outside the wind was howling, and inside the house it was so warm and cosy; we had nothing at all to complain (about).' (JMF2001: 28)

(38) d. *Ekj* ***ha'$_1$*** *daut emma soo* ***too hoolen$_2$,*** *[Gott rädt too ons derch*
I have that always so to hold:INF God talks to us through

Menschen, nich derch 'ne Koa.]

people not through a car

'I've always understood [(that) God speaks to us through people, not

through a car.]' (JMF1994: 73)

While the third-status complements of *kjrieen* have already been seen to have a resultative function (*e.g. veplinzt kjrieen* 'get slapped', *utjeloamt kjrieen* 'get bawled out', *betohlt kjrieen* 'get paid'), second-status complements appear to be inchoative (cf. Hooge 1974: 397), here limited to forms of *too hoolen kjrieen* 'get a hold of' and verbs of perception, namely *too seehnen kjrieen* 'get to see' and *too hearen kjrieen* 'get to hear'.

(39) a. *[Hauns kjikjd Jils Laichakomm stia aun,]* ***kjrieeg***$_1$ *ahm aum*

Hans looked Julius Laichakomm stern on got him on.the

Schlunk ***too hoolen***$_2$ *[un drekjd jrindlich toop.]*

throat to hold:INF and pressed thoroughly together

'[Hans looked sternly at Julius Laichakomm,] got a hold of his throat, [and

squeezed hard.]' (JMF2005: 45)

(39) b. *Don* ***kjrieeg***$_1$ *Jesus* ***too hearen***$_2$ *[daut Johanes em Jefängnis wea.]*

then got Jesus to hear:INF COMP John in.the jail was

'Then Jesus heard [that John was in prison.]' (JMF2006: 103)

The lone example of first-status complementation with *kjrieen*, (39c), follows the nominal phrase *Oabeit kjrieen* 'get work', and might thus tentatively be grouped into the general pattern of first or second status complementation following nominal and adverbial phrases, though further examples would clearly be required to demonstrate that this is indeed the case.

(39) c. *[Wann doa wäa haud*$_1$ *'ne goode Singer Neihmaschien jehaut*$_2$*,]*

if there someone had a good Singer sewing.machine have:PTCP

dee wudd$_1$ *ha'n*$_2$ *väl Oabeit* ***jekjräajen***$_3$ *Bexen* ***flekjen***$_4$.

REL would have:INF much work get:PTCP trousers patch:INF

'[If someone had had a good Singer sewing machine,] (s)he would have gotten a lot of work patching trousers.' (JMF1994: 42)

Unlike *kjrieen*, in which no particular complement status appears to predominate, *sennen* 'be' would seem typified by third-status complements, which represent 69.9% (332) of all instances of verbal complementation introduced by *sennen* in the tagged subcorpus. These cases would appear attributable to the participation of *sennen* in perfective construction, where it occurs with a limited number of verbs (e.g. *bliewen* 'stay, remain', *foahren* 'drive', *gohnen* 'go', *komen* 'come', *passearen* 'happen', *sennen* 'be', *stoawen* 'die', *waussen* 'grow', *woaren* 'be, become', etc.):

(40) a. *Hia* ***wea***$_1$ *waut nich raicht* ***toojegohne***$_2$.

here was something not right happen:PTCP

'Something hadn't gone right here.' (RE1972: 54)

(40) b. *Aus Fraunz eascht* ***wea***$_1$ *too Unjarecht* ***jegohn'***$_2$, ***wea***$_1$ *toom Gloowen*

as Frank first was to instruction go:PTCP was to.the faith

jekomen$_2$ *un bi Jemeent* ***jeworden***$_2$ ***wea***$_1$, *[meend he too sien*

come:PTCP and by congregation become:PTCP was opined he to his

Brooda Peeta dee doa aul 'en Poa Joah befriet wea.]

brother Peter REL there already a couple year married was

'Once Frank had gone to (baptismal) instruction, had become a believer, and had joined the church, [he said to his brother Peter, who had been married for a couple of years already.]' (JMF1994: 69)

The next most common status government pattern attested in the tagged subcorpus for *sennen*, which involves second-status complements (118 instances, 24.8%), is dominated by the potentative constructions discussed earlier, although adjectival (e.g. *weat sennen* 'be worth, be worthy', *nieschiarig sennen* 'be curious', *onmäajlich sennen* 'be impossible', etc.) and abstract nominal (e.g. *eenem sien Waig sennen* 'be one's way', *eenem siene Jeläajenheit sennen* 'be one's chance', *Tiet sennen* 'be time') phrases are also well attested. Particularly common among potentative constructions here are perception verbs, particularly *hearen* 'hear' and *seehnen* 'see', which may represent represent fixed phrases or subconstructions within this pattern.

(41) a. *[Ekj wisst uk] daut dee t'huus aul aula wudden*$_1$ *sea* ***nieschiarig***

I knew also COMP DEM at.home already all would very curious

sennen$_2$ *too hearen*$_3$*, [woo sikj daut met miene Jagd haud*

be.INF to hear:INF how REFL that with my hunt had

'eromjenohmen.]

come.around:PTCP

'[I also knew] that they would all be curious at home to hear [how my hunt had turned out.]' (JMF2005: 65)

(41) b. *[Susch späahd daut,]*

Sarah felt that

vondoag ***wea**$_1$ äahre* ***Jeläajenheit*** *een Plumps Jeld* ***entooropen**$_2$.*

today was her chance a amount money scoop.in:INF

'Sarah felt today was her chance to bring in a fair bit of money.'

(JMF2005: 78)

(41) c. *De tieende Moonat* ***wearen**$_1$ de Spetzen von de hechste Boaj* ***too seehnen**$_2$.*

the tenth month were the tips of the highest hills to see:INF

'In the tenth month, the tips of the highest mountains were visible.'

(JMF2006: [illegible]

It is possible that syntactic calques are represented among these examples, as well. Example (41d) would appear to be one possible candidate, if not in syntactic form (examples of potentative constructions such as (41e) would appear essentially identical), then in semantic interpretation, sooner mirroring the deontic aspects of the English *there were tables to clean* than the potentative interpretation typical of such constructions in Mennonite Low German. Again, further evidence would be required to demonstrate this to be the case, though nothing would appear to exclude syntactic calques from appearing in these constructions, as well.

(41) d. *Doa* ***wearen**$_1$ Deschen* ***opptooriemen**$_2$, Zockajefäsa* ***opptoofellen**$_2$*

there were tables clean.up:INF sugar.containers fill.up:INF

un mea Menschen ***too bedeenen**$_2$ [oba Auna leet nich noh.]*

and more people to serve:INF but Anna let not ADV

'There were tables to clean up, sugar containers to fill, and more people to serve, [but Anna didn't let up.]' (JMF2005: 35)

(41) e. *[Eenje Lied jleewden soogoa daut de Fraunz nich bloos waut*
some people believed even COMP the Frank not just something
tweschen de Uahren oba uk noch waut hinja de Uahren haud,]
between the ears but also still something behind the ears had
wiel wann doa wua een Dola ***too moaken***$_2$ ***wea***$_1$*, [Fraunz*
because if there somewhere a dollar to make:INF was Frank
Dikj saut aum Stia.]
Dyck sat at.the steering.wheel
'[Some people even thought that Frank didn't just have something between the ears, but also something behind the ears,] because if there was a dollar to be made somewhere, [Frank Dyck was at the wheel.]'
(JMF2005: 94)

Similar attention might be given to the contexts in which variation in status government is noted for the remaining twenty-eight variable verbs, although this is not attempted here.[25] Rather, if the five most variable verbs reviewed above might be taken as a reasonable sample of this variation in status government, then the preceding discussion would appear to suggest that a constructional approach may indeed represent one viable means of accounting for differences in status government patterns for different verbs. While the same might be said of verbal subcategorization analyses, the constructional approach adopted here would appear to encourage attention to be paid not only to the range of attested complementation patterns, but also to those larger contextual factors pertaining to the construction which may bear upon the selection of a particular complement status in cases where status assignment is variable.

---

[25] Two of these verbs have in fact already been discussed: the modals *motten* 'must' and *sellen* 'have to' have second-status complements only in elliptic passive constructions, otherwise governing first status.

It is worth noting apparent consistencies in status government patterns which run throughout several of the more general classes of verbs initially proposed. Auxiliary verbs as defined here appear most commonly to introduce third-status complements as a consequence of their participation in perfective constructions (and, thus, are the only verbs to introduce IPP complements), though both *haben* 'have' and *sennen* 'be' are also found to introduce first and second-status complements when participating in abstract nominal and adverbial phrases. Modal verbs, by comparison, are exceptionally uniform in their status government, taking bare infinitive complements in all instances outside of rare elliptic passive constructions. Lexical verbs, by far the most diverse of these three categories, demonstrate greater variability in the statuses they govern, with some verbs (e.g. *halpen* 'help', *hearen* 'hear', *schaufen* 'work') consistently governing first status, others (e.g. *aunfangen* 'begin', *proowen* 'try', *vejäten* 'forget', *vesprääkjen* 'promise) second status, and still others (e.g. *gohnen* 'go', *seehnen* 'see', *komen* 'come') noted to govern both, though in general, one status would appear favoured even in such cases.

While most such verbs thus demonstrate a preferred status for their complements, in the case of lexical verbs, variation between first and second status government would appear common, and merits particular attention here. In cases where both first and second status complementation is attested for a given verb, what linguistic features might favour one or the other morphological realization? While inspection of several such alternating-status verbs (e.g. *aunbeeden* 'offer', *jleichen* 'like', *komen* 'come', *leahren* 'learn, teach', *ranen* 'run', and *schekjen* 'send') would not appear to reveal any single consistent factor determining the status governed, several observations might still be made.[26] First, the length of the complement verbal material would not appear sufficient to determine the status governed, with long complements (where one might expect syntactic dependency of the embedded verb to be reinforced morphologically) appearing both with (42a) and without (42b) the *too* infinitival marker, and with short complements (where additional morphological marking of the complementation relation might be considered redundant, given the implications of juxtaposition) likewise (42c, 42d).

(42) a. *De Har* ***schekjd***$_1$ *Samuel noh Betlehem noh Isai sien Heim,*
the Lord sent Samuel to Bethlehem to Isai his house
eent von siene acht Sähns ***uttooläsen***$_2$ *fe' Kjeenig.*
one of his eight sons pick.out:INF for king
'The Lord sent Samuel to Bethlehem, to Isai's house to select one of his eight sons as king.' (JMF2006: 64)

(42) b. *Ahasveros* ***schekjd***$_1$ *Deena noh aul siene Provinzen, aul de schmockste*
Ahasveros sent servants to all his provinces all the prettiest

---

[26] Closer inspection of several 'alternating' verbs revealed presumed variation between first and second status to stem in fact from two distinct senses of these verbs, each governing different statuses (e.g. *seehnen* 'to see, perceive visually', governing first status exclusively; vs. *seehnen* 'to see to, take care of' (cf. 21a), governing second status exclusively); or simply from the omission of *too* infinitive markers under coordination (e.g. *plonen* 'to plan', *befählen* 'to command') and / or infinitival topicalization (e.g. *vestohnen* 'to understand').

Frues noh ahm ***brinjen***$_2$ *[un dan wudd*$_1$ *he sikj eene utläsen*$_2$*.]*

women to him bring:INF and then would he REFL one pick.out:INF

'Ahasveros sent servants to all his provinces (to) bring all the most beautiful women to him [and them he would choose one for himself.]' (JMF2006: 86)

(42) c. *[Wi haben*$_1$ *sien Stearn jeseehnen*$_2$*] un send*$_1$ ***jekomen***$_2$ *ahm* ***auntoobäden***$_3$

we have his star see:PTCP and are come:PTCP him worship:INF

'We have seen his star and have come to worship him.' (JMF2006: 96)

(42) d. *"Wi send von Kanaan un send*$_1$ ***jekomen***$_2$ *Jeträajd* ***kjeepen***$_3$*,"*

we are from Canaan and are come:PTCP grain buy:INF

[säd eent von dee Breeda.]

said one of the brothers

'"We are from Canaan and have come (to) buy grain," [said one of the brothers.]' (JMF2006: 33)

With *aunbeeden* 'to offer', the presence or absence of the *too* infinitival marker would appear to correlate with the agent which must be presumed for the complement verb. If the subject of *aunbeeden* differs from that of the embedded verb, the *too* marker appears, as in (43a); while if the subject of *aunbeeden* is the same as that of the embedded verb, no *too* marker is given, as in (43b).

(43) a. *Se* ***bood***$_1$ *Adam daut uk* ***aun too schmaikjen***$_2$*.*

she offered Adam it also ADV to taste:INF

'She offered it to Adam to taste.' (JMF2006: 3)

(43) b. *Schliesslich* ***bitt't***$_1$ *he sikj* ***aun*** *Dieeg* ***rollen***$_2$.

finally offers he REFL ADV dough roll:INF

'Finally he offers to roll dough.' (JMF2001: 10)

While accounting for the status government behaviour of *aunbeeden*, this pattern would not appear to be borne out in other such alternating verbs, however, as examples (42c) and (42d) attest, though this clearly does not preclude the existence of an analogous class of 'control-like' verbs. In *jleichen* 'to like', differences between first and second status appear to be analogous to differences between English gerunds (e.g. *like baking*) and *to*-infinitives (e.g. *like to bake*), though this similarity may be coincidental:

(44) a. *Obraum Klossen siene Fruu* ***jleicht***$_1$ ***too foahren***$_2$

Abram Klassen his wife likes to drive:INF

'Abram Klassen's wife likes to drive.' (JMF2005: 73)

(44) b. *Dit Kauttje* ***jleicht***$_1$ *Malkj* ***lekjen***$_2$

this kitten likes milk lick:INF

'This kitten likes licking milk.' (JMF2005: 39)

Nor would one or the other status appear characteristic of a particular genre (i.e. poetry or prose) in the corpus, although individual corpus works vary in their attestations of these different statuses: chi-squared tests reveal no significant differences in the relative attestation of first-status ($\chi^2(0.021) = 0.8847$, df = 1), second-status ($\chi^2(0.7603) = 0.3832$, df = 1), and third-status ($\chi^2(0.6071) = 0.4359$, df = 1) complements between poetry and prose. First-status ($\chi^2(29.3626) = 6.598 \times 10^{-6}$, df = 4) and third-status ($\chi^2(19.9952) = 0.0005005$, df = 4) complements, by comparison, differ in their attestation across corpus works (both appear more frequently in JMF2005 and JMF2006 than in other sources), while second-status complements do not ($\chi^2(4.6009) = 0.3307$, df = 4).

It should be noted that all chi-squared statistics presented in this study are based upon comparisons of count values for the relevant phenomena, and may, where smaller numbers of observations are available, involve Yates' continuity correction. That is, the comparison of second-status complements against all other complements given above is performed upon a contingency table such as Table 3.3 below. A chi-squared test upon this table produces $\chi^2 = 4.6009$, p = 0.3307, df = 4, which is henceforth abbreviated as $\chi^2(4.6009) = 0.3307$, df = 4.

	JMF1994	JMF2001	JMF2005	JMF2006	RE1972
2. Status	96	83	137	130	93
¬ 2. Status	715	611	1094	1188	643

Table 3.3. Contingency table comparing counts of second-status complements to counts of complements of other statuses appearing in the tagged subcorpus.

If this variation in status is indeed determined to some extent by linguistic context (and is thus not entirely haphazard), then semantic or functional factors may be of relevance to its prediction. In particular, the hypothesis might be advanced that the presence or absence of the *too* infinitival marker in such alternations might correspond iconically with the degree of integration of the complement verb into the action or scene defined by the matrix verb. That is, the greater the degree to which the two verbal concepts or scenes might be perceived as a single event, the less likely it is for the infinitival marker to separate them. Several predictions follow immediately from this position: first, it would seem expected on this view that complex nominal and adverbial phrases introducing verbal complements might favour second-status marking, given the complexity of the scenes defined by these matrix phrases; second, that modal and other semantically 'light' verbs would be more likely to govern first-status complements (and, conversely, that semantically more detailed or complex verbs would be more likely to govern second-status complements), as their integration into a single conceptual scene would presumably be simpler than for other, semantically more complex verbs; and third, that this correlation between semantically simple verbs and first-status government / semantically complex verbs and second-status government would also be reflected in the classes of verbs which govern only first and second statuses, respectively. While several of these claims might be tested against the present corpus data – information is readily available on those verbs governing only first or second status complements, for instance, and on modal verbs' status government patterns – the problem of defining semantic complexity (and thus translating the above definition into quantitative practice) would seem less than trivial, though not necessarily impossible. Quantitative analysis of both structural and semantic factors might shed further light on the causes of such status alternation, though this investigation must ultimately be reserved for future research.

Perhaps somewhat more tractable within the scope of the present study is the relationship between status government and the linear order in which verbal complements appear. It might reasonably be asked to what extent status government and linear order are codeterminant: if it were demonstrated that linear order might be related to status government directly (or vice versa), then a considerable reduction in the amount of syntactic knowledge which must be posited of speakers may be possible. The relationship between status government and complement placement would thus appear to be of general interest in the analysis of verbal complementation patterns, and is therefore studied in greater detail below.

In order to address this question, it is necessary to consider the positions in which verbal complements might be expected to appear, given the participation of the matrix verb in a verb-second or verb-final construction. If constructional context determines ordering, independent of status government patterns, then little variation corresponding to particular verbal statuses should be noted from the general constructional pattern: in the final verb cluster, verbal complements should precede their matrix verbs. If, on the other hand, status government plays a role in verbal complement order, then it should be possible to relate violations of this strictly-descending order of complementation (or, conversely, compliance with this pattern) to status government.

As Table 3.4 suggests, however, no such consistent relationship would appear to exist between a complement's status and its position to the left or to the right of its matrix verb in a final verb cluster. While patterns might be discerned within this table – third-status complements appear most frequently before their matrix verbs, and second-status infinitives after their matrix verbs – these would appear highly variable between the two authors.[27] A visual comparison of the same data, presented in Figure 3.1 below, makes this difference immediately apparent: where JMF appears to favour preposing bare infinitival complements, RE favours the opposite order. If complement status may be considered to determine complement position in verb clusters, then this would seem only to be the case for certain statuses in certain varieties, and even then subject to considerable variation left essentially unaccounted for on this view. No overarching, cross-varietal similarities (with the possible exception noted above of third-status complements, which appear to favour positions to the left of their matrix verbs. On a constructional view, this regularity might be perceived as a property not of morphological status, but rather of verbal constituent ordering in the perfective construction which introduces the majority of third-status complements) are apparent from this comparison.

---

[27] It might further be noted that IPP phenomena, while comparatively rare, appear to pattern similarly for both authors, with complements most often appearing to the right of their matrix verb. IPP effects are rarely considered to constitute a distinct morphological status, however, and are grouped separately here only to avoid difficulties in assigning them to either first or third status categories. While this pattern may merit further investigation, it should not be taken here as immediate evidence of word order being determined by status *per se*.

Complement Status	Complement Left	Complement Right
1. Status (Bare Infinitive)	315 (165 / 150)	690 (650 / 40)
2. Status (*Too* Infinitive)	42 (23 / 19)	162 (133 / 29)
3. Status (Participle)	485 (353 / 132)	212 (187 / 25)
IPP	2 (1 / 1)	27 (20 / 7)

Table 3.4. Status of complement verbs and their positions relative to matrix verbs in verb clusters in the tagged subcorpus. Counts are provided for both the entire subcorpus and, in parentheses, for JMF and RE, respectively.

If the status of a complement does not entirely determine its position within a verb cluster, it might nevertheless be proposed that the status in which its matrix verb appears might have some effect upon the complement's position. Table 3.5 summarizes the effect of matrix verb status upon the relative position of its complement, with Figure 3.2 presenting this information visually. Here also, differences between the two authors are pronounced: complements of finite matrix verbs in verb clusters are most often postposed in JMF, while the same are most often preposed in RE; and likewise for complements of bare infinitives. While both authors demonstrate striking similarity in their placement of complements of participles (both favouring rightward placements of complements, often to positions outside of the verb cluster proper), there is nevertheless substantial variation in complement placements which receives little treatment under the hypothesis that morphological status directly correlates with complement order.

It would thus appear that status does not reduce to word order, nor word order to status: while patterns are noted in status and the placement of complements relative to their matrix verbs, the view that status itself is sufficient in explaining complement position would appear challenged by apparent variation in ordering, both across speakers and within each status category. It is possible that linear order and morphological status are related, and that regularities in the relationship between these two phenomena might be found. Attention to constructional context, however, would seem necessary in order to determine under what conditions such correspondences might hold. The linear ordering of verb cluster constituents would thus appear to require consideration not only of morphological status in the abstract, but also of the constructions which determine status government as a whole, as is discussed in the following section.

Matrix Status	Complement Left	Complement Right
0. Status (Finite)	698 (436 / 262)	806 (739 / 67)
1. Status (Bare Infinitive)	120 (90 / 30)	142 (125 / 17)
2. Status (*Too* Infinitive)	3 (1 / 2)	4 (1 / 3)
3. Status (Participle)	4 (3 / 1)	64 (53 / 11)
IPP	19 (12 / 7)	75 (72 / 3)

Table 3.5. Status of matrix verbs and the positions of their complements within final verb clusters. Counts are given for the entire subcorpus and, in parentheses, for JMF and RE.

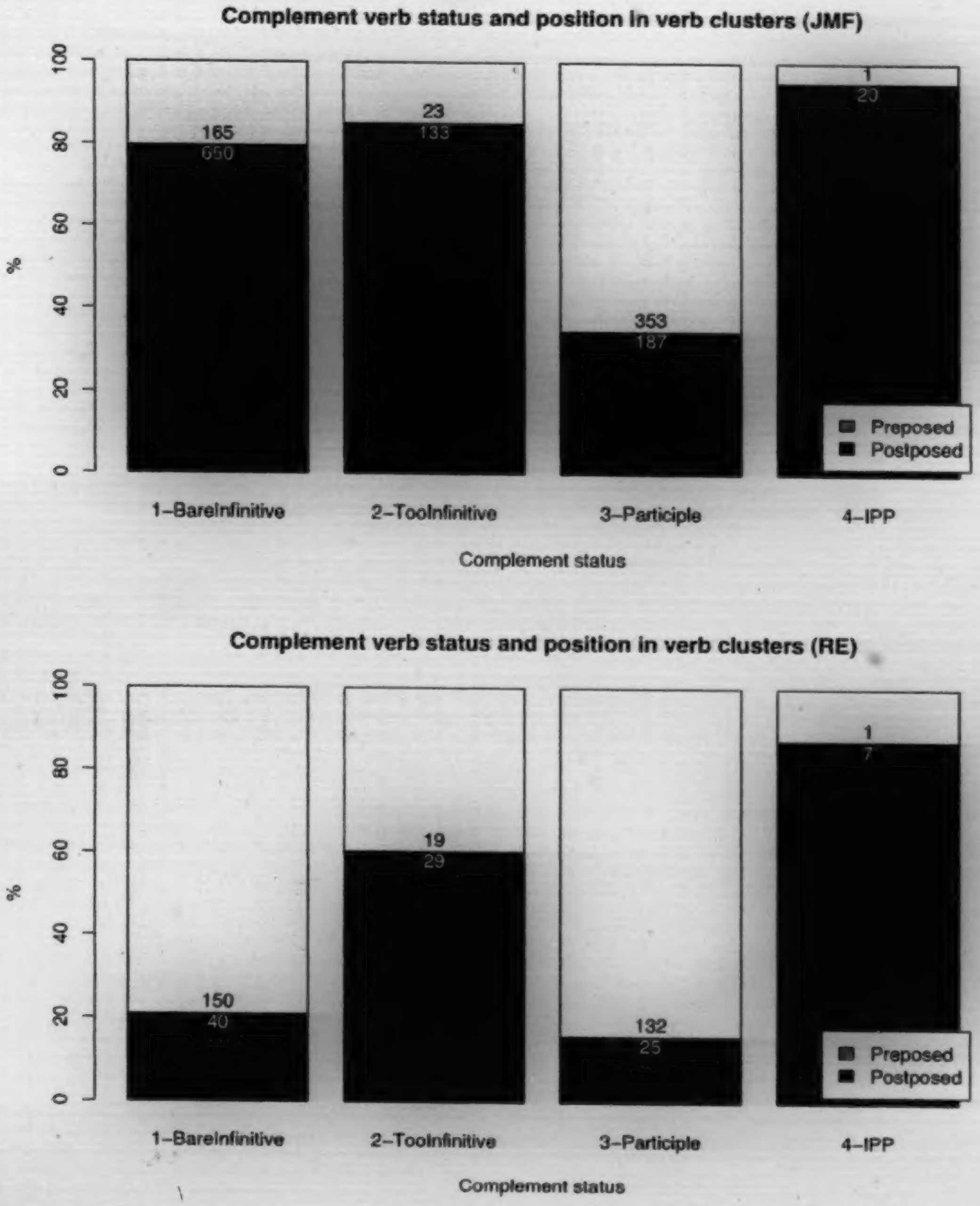
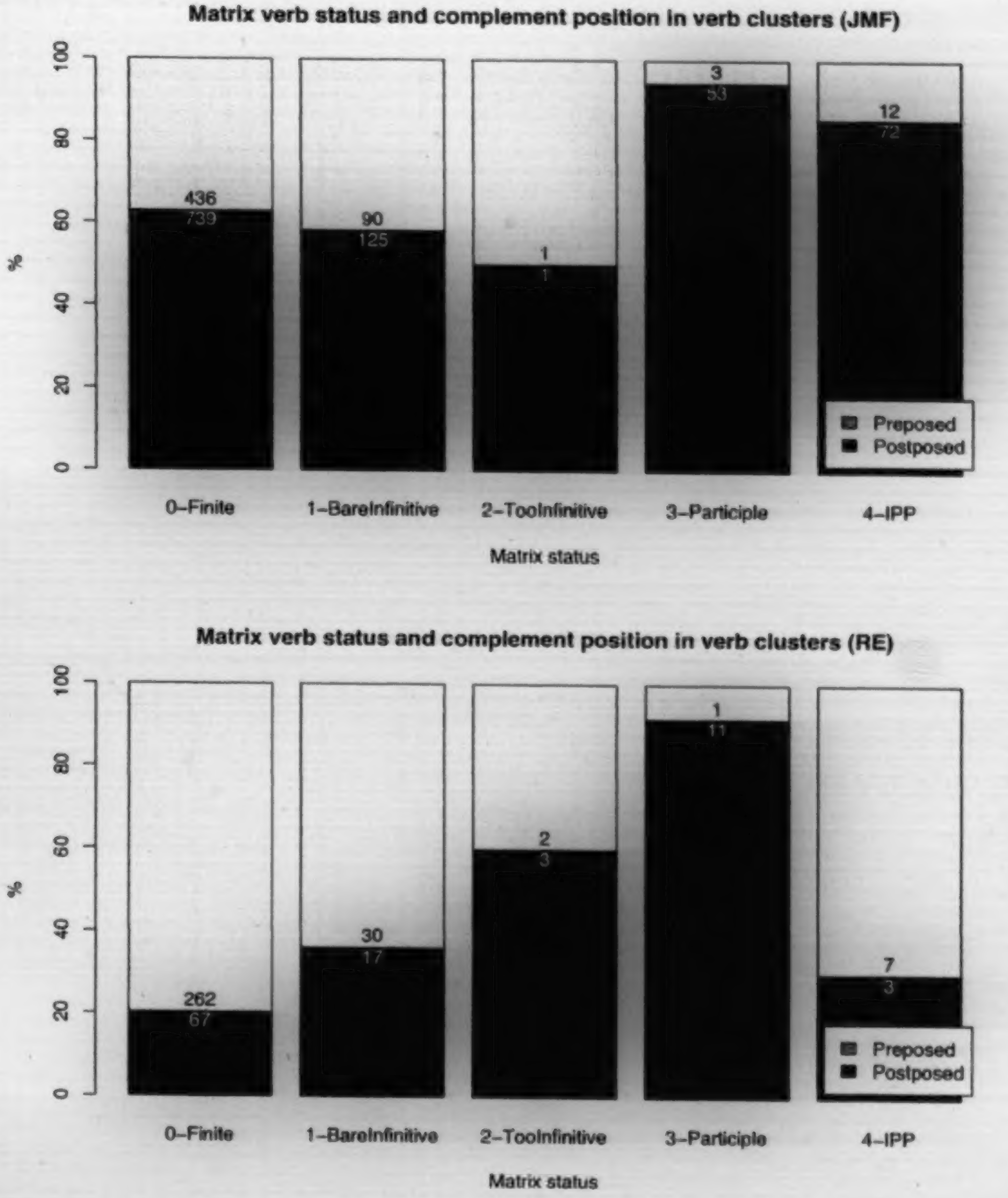


Figure 3.1. Positions of verbal complements of different morphological statuses relative to their matrix verbs in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by author.


Matrix verb status and complement position in verb clusters (JMF)

Matrix verb status and complement position in verb clusters (RE)

Figure 3.2. Complement positions relative to matrix verbs of different statuses in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by author.

3.3. Finite verbal complementation. Having reviewed several aspects of verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* pertaining to structural features of verbal constructions and the morphological marking of verbal complements, it might be asked how these relate to the linear ordering of elements within verbal complementation constructions. As the preceding section has observed, it would appear necessary to distinguish between the morphological 'status' assigned to verbal complements and the linear order in which these complements appear relative to one another. Moreover, the distinction commonly made between verb-second and verb-final constructions in Continental West Germanic languages, while appearing critical to understanding the relative positioning of verbal complements within a given sentence, would not appear to account for the full range of variation in linear ordering found in verbal complementation constructions. This section therefore seeks to study the relationship between constructional context, morphological marking, and linear ordering in greater detail, with the aim of determining what factors bear upon the linear order of verbal complements in the present corpus data.

In order to render the analysis of linear ordering patterns in verbal complementation constructions more tractable, an initial distinction is made here between finite verbal complementation, in which complement constructions are introduced by a finite verb, and infinitival complementation, in which such constructions are introduced by an infinitival verb. While these two classes may, in principle, be presumed to behave similarly, distinguishing between finite and infinitival complementation constructions from the outset not only permits this hypothesis to be tested, but also allows specific attention to be given to the contexts in which each class of constructions occurs. This section concentrates upon the former class of finite verbal complementation constructions, seeking to describe patterns noted in their verbal elements' linear ordering, morphological marking, and participation in collocational or fixed-phrasal patterns. Infinitival complementation constructions are discussed similarly in section 3.4.

In the present discussion of finite verbal complementation, constructional schemas of the kind employed in Wurmbrand (2006) are adopted in the classification of verbal complementation constructions. Such schemas are useful in several respects: first, in presenting a tractable level of abstraction from the full range of attested constructional subtypes, such construction schemas might serve as an initial 'proxy' to the phenomena under investigation, one which does not require a complete analysis of the verbal constructions of the language prior to classification. While individual constructions might reasonably be expected to play an important role within the patterning of each such constructional schema, and thus deserve individual attention, an analysis which employs constructional schemas does not rule out such specific consideration to subpatterns within each class. Indeed, if variation within a constructional schema is to be accounted for, such subpatterns are likely to require investigation, thus bringing to light distinctions within these abstract classes which may not have been evident, had other predefined verbal constructions been taken as the basis of analysis. Moreover, the use of constructional schemas of the kind found in Wurmbrand (2006) might have the additional benefit of rendering the patterns thus represented broadly compatible with similar schematicizations of complementation phenomena in related languages, allowing results from Mennonite *Plautdietsch* to be integrated more easily into current typological research involving the Continental West Germanic languages. In short, the adoption of this analytical system, one which would appear to have witnessed some success in its application to related languages, might permit the results of this analysis to be brought more easily into typological comparison without preventing attention from being given to those larger constructional contexts or finer idiomatic or collocational patterns which are relevant to the internal structure of such schemas.

Given the large number of distinct constructional schemas identified for verbal complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus, schemas are grouped in this section according to the number of verbal elements participating in complementation. Table 3.6 gives a breakdown of the number of instances of two, three, and four-verb finite complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus, grouped according to their appearance in verb-second and verb-final contexts. The prevalence of two-element constructions in the corpus is notable, representing 90.9% (4148) of all finite complementation constructions observed, while three-element constructions are considerably less common (8.8%, 403), and four-element constructions represent less than one percent of all instances of finite verbal complementation (0.003%, 14). This would appear in line with the observation of Bech (1955: 64) that such constructions involving more than four verbs are quite uncommon. Any conclusions made as to the properties of the four-element clusters found in the present corpus, then, are necessarily limited in generality by the availability of data, and may call for more 'invasive' methods of data gathering, should the characteristics of these constructions in particular be made the primary focus of analysis. For the present survey of finite verbal complementation in the tagged subcorpus, however, the limited number of examples found would appear an accurate depiction of actual usage of such constructions in the represented genres, which are exceedingly rare in comparison to schemas of other sizes.

	Two-verb schemas	Three-verb schemas	Four-verb schemas
V_2 context	2787 (2453 / 334)	262 (226 / 36)	12 (11 / 1)
V_{Final} context	1361 (1066 / 295)	140 (109 / 31)	3 (0 / 3)

Table 3.6. Number of instances of two, three, and four-verb finite complementation constructions in V_2 and V_{Final} contexts in the tagged subcorpus. Total counts are given first, followed in parentheses by counts for JMF and RE, respectively.

The remainder of this section is organized as follows: individual subsections are devoted to finite verbal complementation constructions involving two, three, and four verbs. Each such subsection presents an initial overview of the constructional schemas comprising this class of finite verbal constructions, giving attention to the frequency of their attested linear orders in the tagged subcorpus in both verb-second and verb-final contexts for each author. Each constructional schema is then considered in greater detail, noting (where applicable) any patterns identified within the schema which concern the linear order, morphological marking, or collocational / fixed-phrasal patterning of the involved verbal elements for different authors and genres. The results of these analyses of individual constructional schemas are summarized briefly at the end of each subsection, and these results in turn brought together in the final summary which concludes this section.

3.3.1. Two-element finite verbal complementation constructions. As the preceding section has noted, two-element constructions represent the vast majority (4148, 90.9%) of examples of finite verbal complementation occurring in the tagged subcorpus. Of these attested two-element constructions, approximately two-thirds (2787, 67.2%) appear in verb-second contexts, with the remaining third (1361, 32.8%) appearing in verb-final constructions. The prevalence of verb-second placement among two-element constructions might be regarded with some concern if the primary focus of this study were upon verb clusters in particular, rather than verbal complementation in general, since the second-position verb is often considered to exist outside of the verb cluster proper or to introduce a potentially distinct set of syntactic phenomena (cf. Schmid & Vogel 2004: 237). Nevertheless, such constructions do represent instances of verbal complementation, regardless of their clustering status, and therefore receive consideration here.

The distribution of two-element finite verbal complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus is summarized in Table 3.7. Notably, all constructional schemas appear to be shared by both authors, with the exceptions of *Auxiliary – IPP*, which is attested only twice, both times in the works of RE; *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive*, which is found in the works of JMF only ten times, all in 1-2 order; and *Modal – Participle*, which also appears ten times in the works of JMF. Other constructional schemas appear to have a similarly sporadic representation in the corpus: apart from *Auxiliary – IPP*, *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive*, and *Modal – Participle*, *Lexical – Participle* constructions occur only fourteen times, with instances of this schema occurring overwhelmingly in JMF (9, 90.0%). Across schemas of all frequencies, there would appear to exist a general preference on the part of both authors for fixed 1-2 orders in verb-second constructions. While perhaps not surprising, given the requirement of such constructions that the finite verb occur in second structural (i.e. Wackernagel's) position, exceptions are nevertheless noted, albeit infrequently: all eleven instances of verb-second 2-1 orders constitute cases of topicalization in which the complement infinitive is fronted.

Constructional schema	Verb order	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2	9 (9 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)
	2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – IPP	1 – 2	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)
	2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)
Auxiliary – Participle	1 – 2	898 (774 / 124)	178 (162 / 16)
	2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	387 (274 / 113)
Auxiliary – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 2	91 (79 / 12)	3 (2 / 1)
	2 – 1	1 (1 / 0)	18 (9 / 9)
Lexical – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2	308 (300 / 8)	42 (40 / 2)
	2 – 1	2 (2 / 0)	9 (7 / 2)
Lexical – Participle	1 – 2	5 (5 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
	2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	5 (4 / 1)
Lexical – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 2	242 (208 / 34)	47 (40 / 7)
	2 – 1	2 (2 / 0)	18 (11 / 7)
Modal – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2	1210 (1055 / 155)	410 (393 / 17)
	2 – 1	6 (5 / 1)	240 (122 / 118)
Modal – Participle	1 – 2	13 (13 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
	2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)

Table 3.7. Overview of verbal orders attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts for each two-element finite verbal complementation construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by constructional schema. All counts are presented first for both authors, followed in parentheses by totals for JMF and RE, respectively.

With the exception of infinitive topicalization, then, two-element finite verbal complementation constructions would appear essentially constant in the relative order of their verbal elements in verb-second contexts, with both authors favouring 1-2 order in more than 99% (2776) of cases. In verb-final contexts, however, linear orders would appear much more variable, and potentially distinct for each author. Whereas examples of the expected 2-1 order in verb-final contexts are noted in only 40.1% (428) of cases, and the unexpected 1-2 order in 59.5% (638) of cases in JMF, RE demonstrates the expected 2-1 order in 85.1% (251) of cases, and the unexpected 1-2 order in only 14.9% (44) of cases. The proportion of each order's occurrence differs significantly between the two authors ($\chi^2(184.8217) < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$, df = 1). Thus, as the placement of verbal complements in verb-final contexts would appear to represent one potentially important difference in the complementation patterns of these two authors, the issue of determining what factors influence the selection of one order over another is given specific attention in section 3.3.1.10 below.

3.3.1.1. *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive*. Constructions falling under the *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive* schema are attested in the tagged subcorpus only in the works of JMF. All but one example appear to represent instances of complementation introduced by a phrasal use of *sennen* 'be' with either a nominal (e.g. *Tiet sennen* 'to be time') or adjectival (e.g. *reed sennen* 'to be ready', *needig sennen* 'to be necessary', *schwoa sennen* 'to be difficult') element, as in (30a) or (45a). The single exception to this pattern, (45b) would also appear to be phrasal, although in this case, the infinitival complement *räden* 'to talk' would seem idiomatically required, in contrast to the freedom with which complement infinitives might be chosen in the remaining examples of this schema.

(45) a. *[He meend, daut Kjliema wea doa soo heet,] daut* ***wea***$_1$ *doa*

he opined the climate was there so hot that was there

nich needig *soo aunpelzen*$_2$ *[aus hia en Canada.]*

not necessary so dress.warm:INF as here in Canada

'[He said the climate there was so hot,] it wasn't necessary there to dress as warm [as here in Canada.]' (JMF2001: 51)

(45) b. *Di* ***es***$_1$ *goot* ***räden***$_2$*, [du haudst*$_1$ *mau sullt*$_2$ *'en Poa Nacht*

you.ACC is good talk:INF you had just shall:IPP a couple night

unj 'rem Schefott ligjen.]

under the porch lie:INF

'You're one to talk – [you should have tried lying (lit. 'should have lain') under the porch for a couple of nights.]' (JMF2001: 64)

3.3.1.2. *Auxiliary – IPP.* Constructions subsumed by the schema *Auxiliary – IPP* are attested in only two instances in RE in the tagged subcorpus, as was noted previously. Both of these examples are presented as (105a) and (105b) and discussed in greater detail in section 3.6.

3.3.1.3. *Auxiliary – Participle*. Instances of participial complementation introduced by a finite auxiliary represent one of the most common subclasses of two-element finite verbal complementation, accounting for 35.3% (1463) of all two-element complementation constructions. An inspection of examples of this schema reveals two prominent classes of constructions: passive constructions formed with the auxiliary *woaren* 'be, become' (14.3%, 209), as in (46a);[28] and perfective constructions, introduced either with forms of the auxiliary *haben* 'have' (65.1%, 952) or *sennen* 'be' (20.6%, 302), as in (46b).

(46) a. *De Koten* ***worden***$_1$ ***vebrennt***$_2$ *un* ***oppjeriemt***$_2$ *[un donn jingj de*
the shacks were burn:PTCP and clean.up:PTCP and then went the
Trubbel loos.]
trouble loose
'The shacks were burned and removed [and then the trouble started.]'
(JMF1994: 42)

(46) b. *Frieesche,* ***hast***$_1$ *du* ***jeheat***$_2$ *waut bi Hilbraunts* ***jeworde***$_2$ ***es***$_1$*?*
Friesen.F have you hear:PTCP what by Hildebrandts' happen:PTCP is
'Mrs. Friesen, have you heard what's happened at Hildebrants'?'(
(RE1972: 113)

An initial inspection of genre associations between these two constructions suggests the possibility of a slightly higher use of passive constructions than perfective constructions in poetry (χ^2(18.1417) = 2.051 x 10^{-5}, df = 1), particularly in the works of JMF, where passives are noted in poetry significantly more often than would be predicted by the overall ratio of prose-to-poetry in this authors' works ($\chi^2(29.5772) = 5.373 \times 10^{-8}$, df = 1). This pattern, however, may be less than entirely consistent across authors: closer investigation reveals no evidence of such an association between passives and poetry in RE ($\chi^2(0.0242) = 0.8763$, df = 1), as well as a possible cause of this unexpected association, namely the frequent repetition of a single passive in the chorus of one song in JMF (treated as poetry in the tagged subcorpus). Removing these repeated cases renders the difference in prose-poetry associations between passive and perfective constructions less significant, both for JMF ($\chi^2(8.4004) = 0.003751$, df = 1) and for this schema more generally ($\chi^2(4.8947) = 0.02694$, df = 1), though still well within the bounds of consideration.

---

[28] The annotation applied to the present verbal complementation data distinguishes between modal *woaren* 'will', which appears in the periphrastic future construction, and auxiliary *woaren* 'be, become', which appears in the passive construction. Wurmbrand (2006), by contrast, appears to treat the former case as an auxiliary, as well; care must therefore be taken when comparing these otherwise quite similar schemas.

The linear orders attested for these two families of constructions would appear broadly similar: verb-second contexts demonstrate the expected 1-2 order in all 898 cases, with no instances of topicalized participles noted in either verb-second or verb-final contexts. In verb-final contexts, both authors appear to demonstrate higher rates of 1-2 order in perfective constructions (JMF: 38.1% (158 / 415) of verb-final perfectives in 1-2 order; RE: 14.2% (16 / 113) of verb-final perfectives in 1-2 order) than in passive constructions (JMF: 19.1% (4 / 21) of verb-final passives in 1-2 order; RE: 0% (0 / 16) of verb-final passives in 1-2 order). Given the limited attestation of verb-final passives, however, it cannot be shown that any statistically-significant difference exists between the proportional representations of the orders in each construction for each author (JMF: $\chi^2(2.3371) = 0.1263$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.1044$; RE: $\chi^2(1.4472) = 0.2290$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.2176$). Thus, this observation must be interpreted in light of the relative uncommonness of such verb-final passives in both authors' writings; that the proportion of attested orders differs between the more common perfective constructions and these rarer passive constructions in verb-final contexts may be a consequence more of the infrequency of the latter constructions here than of any particular linguistic feature of these constructions.[29]

Finally, both the passive and perfective constructions appearing within this schema appear quite general in the range of complement verbs which they accept: in the 1254 instances of perfective constructions, 496 different complement verbs are noted; and likewise, in 209 instances of passive constructions, 129 different complement verbs are found. No particularly frequent phrasal uses are noted, nor would any one verb appear to dominate among the complements. While collostructional analysis (cf. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003) may reveal collocational patterns not easily discerned in these data otherwise, such investigation is reserved as a task for future analysis.

3.3.1.4. *Auxiliary – Too Infinitive*. *Too*-infinitives introduced by an inflected auxiliary appear more consistent in the linear order of their complements than similarly-introduced participles. With the exception of one instance of topicalization, given here as (47a), such constructions demonstrate the expected 1-2 order without exception in verb-second contexts, such as (47b), and rarely deviate from the expected 2-1 order in verb-final contexts, such as (47c):

---

[29] Comparison with the orders attested in three-element passive IPP constructions discussed in section 3.6, however, might support the claim of distinct ordering preferences for passives and perfectives, with such passives appearing to prefer, there just as here, orders in which the verbal complement appears before the matrix verb in verb-final contexts.

(47) a. *Doa äwa* ***too krupen***$_2$ ***wea***$_1$ *ekj too from*
there over to crawl:INF was I too pious
'I was too pious / proper to crawl over it.' (JMF1994: 35)

(47) b. *Disem sien Nome* ***wea***$_1$ *doa uk mank* ***too finje***$_2$.
this.M his name was there also among to find:INF
'This (guy)'s name could also be found among them.' (RE1972: 86)

(47) c. *[Wea daut intressaunt,] besondasch wann de Späla sikj emol*
was that interesting especially when the players REFL once
too hoolen$_2$ ***hauden***$_1$.
to hold:INF had
'[Was that ever interesting,] especially when the players got a hold of one another.' (JMF1994: 38)

As these examples suggest, the constructions which comprise this schema would appear to consist of potentative constructions and adjectival phrasal constructions (e.g. *schwoa sennen* 'to be difficult', *reed sennen* 'to be ready', etc.) introduced by *sennen* 'be', and phrasal verbs introduced by *haben* 'have' (e.g. *X too hoolen haben* 'to grab, get a hold of X', *waut met X too doonen haben* 'to have something to do with X', etc.).[30] Here, potentative and adjectival phrasal constructions would appear to dominate, with such constructions introduced by *sennen* appearing in 93.8% (108 / 113) of cases, although other constructions, such as those with *haben*, are attested, as well. In these potentative constructions, frequent infinitival complements include *too seehnen sennen* 'to be visible' (12), *too hearen sennen* 'to be audible' (9), and *too bruken sennen* 'to be usable' (6), among others, and may represent distinct idioms within these constructions.

---

[30] In one sense, the adjectival-phrasal constructions discussed here might be viewed as a subclass of potentative constructions, one in which the possibility of the verbal action expressed by the complement is qualified by the adjective, e.g. *De Wausch wea soo schwoa uttoowrinjen* 'the wash was so hard to wring out' (JMF1994: 23), where the possibility of wringing out the wash is itself not in question, only the ease with which it might be accomplished.

The use of such potentative constructions would not appear particular to either author, with the observed proportion of these constructions noted for each author not differing significantly from the overall proportion of other two-element constructions introduced by each author in the tagged subcorpus ($\chi^2(1.3472) = 0.2458$, df = 1). Nor would these potentative and adjectival phrasal constructions appear to be any more frequently attested in one particular genre than other two-element finite verbal complement constructions in JMF ($\chi^2(0.4823) = 0.4874$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.3828$) or RE ($\chi^2(0.003) = 0.9564$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 1$) which might support the conclusion that these constructions, representing most of the *Auxiliary – Too Infinitive* schema, characterize general features of the written varieties of both authors, demonstrating no strong associations with either poetry or prose.

3.3.1.5. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive*.

Constructions in which a bare infinitive is introduced by an inflected lexical verb appear to be a feature primarily of JMF in the tagged subcorpus, who provides 96.7% (349 / 361) of all examples. Nevertheless, examples might be provided for both authors of constructions belonging to this schema:

(48) a. *Ekj* ***head***$_1$ *ahm noch* ***roope***$_2$ *[aus ekj ahm noch sag]*

I heard him still call:INF as I him still saw

'I still heard him calling [(for as long) as I saw him]' (RE1972: 24)

(48) b. *Stauts suupe,* ***doo***$_1$ ***wi zaichte***$_2$.

instead drink.heavily:INF do we tipple:INF

'Rather than booze, we('ll) tipple.' (RE1972: 26)

(48) c. *[Potifar wea sea bossig äwa Josef]*

Potifar was very annoyed over Joseph

un ***leet***$_1$ *ahm em Jefängnis* ***schmieten***$_2$.

and let him in.the prison throw:INF

'[Potifar was very annoyed at Joseph] and had him thrown into prison.'

(JMF2006: 30)

(48) d. *Wi Kjinja* ***jinjen***$_1$ *met Mame met en 'e Laigt Bleiwbäaren* ***plekjen***$_2$.

we kids went with mama with in the valley blueberries pick:INF

'We kids went along with mom into the valley to pick blueberries.'

(JMF2001: 18)

Thirty-four different lexical verbs are found to introduce bare-infinitival complements in the tagged subcorpus, among these *loten* 'let' (89, 24.7%), *doonen* 'do' (58, 16.1%), *komen* 'come' (32, 8.9%), *gohnen* 'go' (25, 6.9%), *seehnen* 'see' (21, 5.8%), and *hearen* 'hear' (18, 5.0%). It should come as little surprise, then, that multiple constructions might be seen as comprising this schema, including causatives introduced by *loten*; periphrastic *do*-support constructions with *doonen*; purposive motion constructions with *komen*, *gohnen, foahren* 'drive', *ranen* 'run', *schekjen* 'send', and other verbs of motion; perception chain constructions with *seehnen* and *hearen*; and still others. No one fixed phrase would appear to dominate the collocational patterns attested here. Rather, while individual idiomatic phrases might be identified within each construction (e.g. *sikj hearen loten* 'to make oneself heard'), most of these constructions would appear quite general, accepting a range of verbal complements. As in previous schemas, collostructional analysis or similar measures of collocational association may serve to reveal relevant subpatterns within the verbal participants in these constructions. Given the number of distinct constructions represented in this schema, however, a thorough investigation of these collocational affinities in each construction must ultimately be reserved for future work.

While two instances of topicalization are noted in verb-second contexts, the remaining examples in these contexts appear to follow the expected 1-2 order. In verb-final contexts, however, the unexpected 1-2 orders dominate (42 / 51, 82.3%), with a statistically significant difference existing between the proportion of verb-final 1-2 orders in this schema and the overall proportion of verb-final 1-2 orders observed in other two-element finite verbal complementation constructions ($\chi^2(20.7139) = 5.333 \times 10^{-6}$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 2.258 \times 10^{-6}$). Thus, it would appear that constructions in JMF belonging to this schema on the whole favour 1-2 order in both verb-second and verb-final contexts. The reasons for this difference in ordering preference from other constructional schemas, such as *Auxiliary – Participle*, is not immediately apparent, and may represent an avenue for further productive investigation. No overall association between these constructions and either prose or verse is noted ($\chi^2(1.9092) = 0.1671$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.1602$), though this does not preclude the possibility of such associations existing between one or more of the many individual subconstructions within this schema, although this suggestion cannot be explored in detail here.

3.3.1.6. *Lexical – Participle*. Only ten examples of participles introduced by finite lexical verbs are noted in the tagged subcorpus, with all but one appearing in the works of JMF. Despite the apparent paucity of data, two distinct constructional patterns might be identified within this schema, namely resultative constructions involving inflected forms of the verb ***kjrieen*** 'get' (80%, 8 / 10), as in examples (27a-c) and (49a-b); and those deontic constructions involving inflected forms of the verb ***bruken*** 'need', cited previously as (28a-b). While all examples of this constructional schema appear in prose, this cannot be taken to indicate any clear affinity between these constructions and one particular written genre.

(49) a. *Beant* ***kjrieej***$_1$ *schlaicht Freehstikj* ***jejäten***$_2$.
Ben got badly breakfast eat:PTCP
'Ben barely got breakfast eaten.' (JMF2005: 15)

(49) b. *[Nutzen*$_2$ *deed*$_1$ *'et leida weinig waut] oba se* ***kjrieejen***$_1$
be.useful:INF did it regrettably little something but they got
betohlt$_2$ *[un de C.P.R. wudd*$_1$ *doawäajen aul foahren*$_2$*]*
pay:PTCP and the C.P.R. would regarding.that already drive:INF
'[Unfortunately, it didn't do much,] but they got paid [and the C.P.R. (Canadian Pacific Railway) would still drive, regardless.' (JMF1994: 70)

3.3.1.7. *Lexical – Too Infinitive.* Second-status infinitives introduced by a finite lexical verb are attested in the works of both authors in the tagged subcorpus, although neither author would appear to employ constructions within this schema proportionally more often than the other ($\chi^2(0.0113) = 0.9155$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.869$). As might be expected from a category of complementation constructions introduced by the open category of lexical verbs, a considerable range of matrix verbs are noted: 57 distinct lexical verbs introduce 208 different complement verbs within this schema. While no single verb appears to predominate among the complements – the most frequent three complement verbs, ***saijen*** 'say' (12 / 309, 3.9%), ***hoolen*** 'hold' (9, 2.9%), and ***hearen*** 'hear' (8, 2.6%) each appear in less than four percent of constructions – several verbs stand out as particularly frequent among the matrix verbs. Among these are ***aunfangen*** 'begin' (79 / 309, 25.6%), ***haben*** 'have' (28, 9.1%), ***vestohnen*** 'understand' (18, 5.8%), ***fählen*** 'need, lack' (17, 5.5%), ***veseakjen*** 'try' (17, 5.5%), ***proowen*** 'try' (16, 5.2%), and ***gohnen*** (15, 4.9%). Several of these verbs correspond directly to constructions discussed previously, such as potentative constructions involving *gohnen*, as in (18b) or (50a), or adverbial / abstract-nominal phrases featuring *haben*, as in (38a-b) or (50b):

(50) a. *[De Himmel wea voll Stearn] waut nich* ***too tahlen***$_2$ ***jingj***$_1$

the sky was full stars rel not to count:INF went

[un daut sag harlich.]

and it saw magnificent

'[The sky was full of stars] which couldn't be counted [and it looked magnificent.]' (JMF2006: 95)

(50) b. *[Äwadäm jeiht Kortlemp 'erut, piept sikj eent aun un saigt too*
then goes Kortlemp out pipes REFL one on and says to
*sikj sel'st,] de Junges **haben**$_1$ noch väl too **leahren**$_2$.*
REFL self the boys have still much to learn:INF
'[Then Kortlemp goes out, lights his pipe, and says to himself, “The boys still have a lot to learn.”' (JMF2001: 10)

Other constructions might be identified within this schema, as well: among the more typical instances of *aunfangen* 'start', as in (51a), one finds uses of *vestohnen* 'understand' with second-status complements, where it is interpreted to mean 'know how to'; and *fählen*, where the verb is taken to mean 'need to', rather than 'lack, be missing':

(51) a. *[He seakjt noh 'en Podzeakjel un finjt dän bloos nich]*
he searches to a sledge.hammer and finds DEM just not
***un fangt**$_1$ **aun too gromsaujen**$_2$. (JMF1994: 40)*
and starts ADV to grumble:INF
'[He looks for a sledge hammer and just can't find one] and starts to grumble.' (JMF1994: 40)

(51) b. *De gaunze Bickjatswicks **vestund**$_1$ soone butajeweehnlije Utdrekje*
the entire Bueckert.clan understood such extraordinary expressions
***too bruke**$_2$, [daut eena sikj too Tiede de Buck hoole musst, un*
to use:INF COMP one REFL to times the stomach hold:INF had.to and
sikj meist doot-lachd.]
REFL almost dead-laughed

'The entire Bueckert clan knew how to use such extraordinary expressions [that you sometimes had to hold your stomach and almost laughed to death.]' (RE1972: 80)

(51) c. *Wann een Jungtje* ***too priejle***$_2$ ***fähld***$_1$*, dann säde se* *däm* ***fähld***$_1$

if a boy.DIM to whip:INF needed then said they DEM needed

de onjebrennde Holtausch ***opptoolaije***$_2$.

the unburned wood.ash lay.on:INF

'If a boy needed a whipping, then they said he needed to have some unburned ash laid on him.' (RE1972: 81)

Individual constructions within this schema may be associated with particular authors: the use of *veseakjen* 'try' in such constructions is attested in JMF only, for instance, while *proowen* 'try' is used by both authors, although more commonly by RE. With respect to the linear ordering of their constituent verbs, 1-2 order is universally attested in verb-second contexts outside of two instances of infinitival topicalization. In verb-final contexts, however, both authors demonstrate an apparent preference for 1-2 order which diverges from the proportions of 1-2 order observed for each author in two-element complementation constructions generally: JMF has 1-2 order in 78.4% (40 / 51) verb-final contexts (χ^2(6.9054) = 0.008594 (df = 1), Fisher p = 0.005202), while RE has this order in 50% (7 / 14) of the same contexts (χ^2(11.5014) = 0.0006954 (df = 1), Fisher p = 0.001586). While exceptions to this trend are certainly noted for both authors (particularly with *gohnen* 'go', *haben* 'have', and *kjrieen* 'get'), it would appear that second-status complements of lexical verbs may generally favour postposition. No disproportionate representation of these constructions as a whole in either poetry or prose (relative to the proportional representation of all other two-element finite verbal complementation constructions in prose and verse) is noted (χ^2(2.5518) = 0.1102 (df = 1), Fisher p = 0.09282).

3.3.1.8. *Modal – Bare Infinitive*. The *Modal – Bare Infinitive* schema represents the single most frequent category to which two-element finite verbal complementation constructions are assigned, with 45% (1866 / 4148) of all such two-element constructions belonging to this schema. Robustly represented in the works of both authors found in the tagged subcorpus, modal constructions here appear to comprise the periphrastic future construction with *woaren* 'will' (35.3%, 659 / 1866); as well as several modal constructions involving *kjennen* 'can' (27.5%, 513), *wellen* 'want' (12.7%, 236), *sellen* 'shall' (11.4%, 213), and *motten* 'must' (8.0%, 150), among others. Examples of these constructions are given in (52a-b) below.

(52) a. *He* ***wull***$_1$ *sien Oawtgoot* ***haben***$_2$ *un fruag sien Voda*
he wanted his inheritance have:INF and asked his father
auf he daut nu ***kunn***$_1$ ***haben***$_2$.
whether he it now could have:INF
'He wanted to have his inheritance and asked his father if he could have it now.' (JMF2006: 110)

(52) b. *Wann he nuscht* ***seehne***$_2$ ***kunn***$_1$, ***kunn***$_1$ *he bi dän leicht* ***vebiefoahre***$_2$
if he nothing see:INF could could he by DEM easily drive.past:INF

ohne daut he 'et ***enwoare***$_2$ ***wudd***$_1$*, un dann* ***kunn***$_1$ *'et met ahm boold*
without COMP he it notice:INF would and then could it with him soon
ut ***senne***$_2$.
out be:INF
'If he couldn't see anything, he could easily drive past without noticing it,
and that could then easily be the end for him.' (RE1972: 57)

As might be expected in such a common schema, some variation is noted in word order, even in verb-second contexts, which demonstrate six examples of infinitival topicalization, though little evidence of other significant departure from the expected 1-2 order is noted here. In contrast, this consistency in linear order would not appear to hold in verb-final contexts: rather, it would seem that the two authors represented in the tagged subcorpus favour essentially opposite linear orders in verb-final contexts. JMF employs 1-2 order in 76.3% (393 / 515) of cases, and 2-1 order in the remaining 23.7% (112 / 515); while RE employs 1-2 in only 12.6% (17 / 135) of cases, having the expected 2-1 order instead in 87.4% (118 / 135) of all modal-infinitive constructions. This apparent difference in the proportions of linear orders selected by each author in such constructions is highly significant (χ^2(183.7338) < 2.2 x 10^{-16} (df = 1), Fisher $p < 2.2$ x 10^{-16}), suggesting that this may represent a point at which the verbal complementation patterns of these two authors diverge.

While there would thus appear to be clear evidence of difference in the linear orders preferred by each author in this family of constructions, it might be asked whether or not the preferences evident in these constructions' linear order are at all divergent from the general patterns of linear ordering observed for each author across *all* two-element finite verbal complementation constructions. In this respect, quantitative comparison is again instructive: a comparison of the proportions of linear orders in JMF observed in this schema to the proportion of linear orders observed in all other two-element verbal complementation constructions reveals a highly significant difference ($\chi^2(111.0261) < 2.2$ x 10^{-16} (df = 1), Fisher $p < 2.2$ x 10^{-16}), which would suggest 1-2 order to be more common for JMF in modal-infinitival constructions than in two-element complementation constructions in general. This same pattern would not appear to hold for RE, however: no significant difference is noted between the proportion of orders observed in this schema and the overall proportion of orders observed in two-element verbal complementation constructions for this author ($\chi^2(0.7476) = 0.3873$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.3289$). Thus, no departure from typical verbal orders is observed in these constructions for RE, while 1-2 order would appear significantly favoured by JMF in the same contexts. While additional quantitative investigation might shed more light upon these results, this apparent difference between both authors in ordering preferences would seem striking, and may call for further attention.

Interestingly, it may be the case that each author favours a particular linear order with a particular verb. Table 3.8 offers a summary of the linear ordering patterns for each modal verb appearing within a modal-infinitival construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by author. While examples are limited, and should therefore be interpreted with caution, these data might suggest a stronger preference in JMF for 2-1 order with *doonen* 'do' than with the remaining modals (and, less strongly, with *kjennen* 'can' and *wellen* 'want', as well), while further underscoring the consistency of 1-2 order in periphrastic future constructions with *woaren* 'will'. These patterns are even more tenuous for RE, where data are quite sparse, though even here it might be suggested that *wellen* 'want' may potentially tend towards 1-2 order slightly more than other modals. In both cases, further data from both authors would seem necessary to demonstrate these differences to be more than chance, although the possibility of consistent differences in word order between modal verbs in this set of constructions would seem intriguing.

	JMF		RE	
	1 – 2	2 – 1	1 – 2	2 – 1
derwen 'may'	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
doonen 'do'	7 (18.4%)	31 (81.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100.0%)
kjennen 'can'	128 (67.7%)	61 (32.3%)	3 (8.8%)	31 (91.2%)
motten 'must'	18 (90.0%)	2 (10.0%)	2 (25.0%)	6 (75.0%)
mäajen 'may'	4 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (15.4%)	11 (84.6%)
sellen 'shall'	51 (87.9%)	7 (12.1%)	1 (6.2%)	15 (93.8%)
wellen 'want'	30 (76.9%)	9 (23.1%)	7 (17.9%)	32 (82.1%)
woaren 'will'	155 (92.8%)	12 (7.2%)	1 (4.3%)	22 (95.7%)

Table 3.8. Linear orders attested in JMF and RE for modal verbs in modal-infinitival constructions.

Within the constructions which constitute this schema, no single complement verb among the 562 attested would appear to dominate, nor would any one modal appear to feature particularly prominently in idiomatic or fixed-phrasal expressions, although collostructional analysis may reveal more subtle affinities between each modal and its complements. No exceptional associations between genres and these constructions are noted.

3.3.1.9. *Modal – Participle.* Participles introduced by modal verbs are attested in the tagged subcorpus only in the works of JMF, and there only rarely. All examples appear to represent instances of the elliptic passive construction discussed in section 3.2, centering around the modal *motten* 'must' (13 / 14, 92.9%), as in (53a), with a single elliptic passive with *sellen* 'shall' noted otherwise, namely (53b). While few conclusions can be drawn as to the properties of this constructional class, given the relative scarcity of relevant data, it is perhaps worth observing that five of the 14 examples (35.7%) appear in poetry, with four of these supporting rhyme schemes dependent upon the participle, which may suggest a special function of this construction within poetry, though this would not appear to be its only use.

(53) a. *Dreemol säd Mame,* ***musst***$_1$ *de Wausch* ***derch-jestuckt***$_2$*,*

three.times said mama had.to the wash through-wash.manually:PTCP

[fief Minuuten, jieda Stucksel.]

five minutes each manual.wash.load

'Three times, mom said, the wash needed to be put through the manual washing machine, [five minutes (for) each load.] ' (JMF1994: 7)

(53) b. *[Wellem halpt Dee aula ut,] jo soona* ***saul***$_1$ ***jesocht***$_2$

William helps DEM all out yes such.M shall seek:PTCP

'[William helps them all out,] yes, someone like that should be sought (out).' (JMF1994: 12)

3.3.1.10. *Modelling verb-final order alternation.* In reviewing the constructional schemas associated with two-element finite verbal complementation constructions, an apparent difference has repeatedly been noted between JMF and RE in their respective preferences for verbal orders in verb-final contexts. Indeed, if one presumes the strictly-descending order of complementation which is commonly predicted for most verb-final contexts, both the presence (and, in certain cases, prevalence) of 1-2 orders in many of the constructions identified above and their frequent alternation with 2-1 orders in the same contexts would seem unexpected. Given this variation in verb placement, then, both between different constructions within each variety and between the represented varieties themselves, the question might be asked: what factors predict this alternation for each author?

Since this alternation in verb-final orders might be hypothesized to be contingent upon any number of functional, formal, and sociolinguistic factors, one might reasonably begin by considering the effect of text genre upon this alternation: could it be the case that one of these positional variants bears an association with either poetry or prose for either author? An inspection of Table 3.9 would appear to suggest that this might indeed be the case: for JMF, 1-2 orders appear even more frequently in verse (79.3%) than in prose (58.2%), and likewise for RE, in whose writings 1-2 orders are much more common (49%) in poetry than in prose (8.1%). Statistical tests confirm the significance of these apparent proportional differences in verb order between poetry and prose for each author (JMF: $\chi^2(13.078) = 0.0002988$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.0001493$; RE: $\chi^2(50.5573) = 1.157 \times 10^{-12}$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 1.404 \times 10^{-10}$).

	Poetry		Prose	
	1 – 2	2 – 1	1 – 2	2 – 1
JMF	65 / 82 (79.3%)	17 / 82 (20.7%)	573 / 984 (58.2%)	411 / 984 (41.8%)
RE	24 / 49 (49.0%)	25 / 49 (51.0%)	20 / 246 (8.1%)	226 / 246 (91.9%)

Table 3.9. Proportions of 1-2 and 2-1 verb order in verb-final contexts across two-element finite verbal complementation constructions in poetry and prose, grouped by author.

This disparity in the use of 1-2 and 2-1 orders in poetry and prose may suggest that the more common order in poetry, 1-2, might be performing a specific function in texts of this genre which would motivate its heightened frequency. Turning to examples such as (54a) and (54b) in the corpus, such a function becomes apparent: the 'unexpected' 1-2 order would appear to serve in many such examples as a means of preserving final rhyme scheme. That is, by placing the finite verb before the infinitive, both authors allow the infinitive to appear in sentence-final position, and thus participate in end-line rhyme, as is the case in both of the cited examples.

(54) a. *Aus Jasch un Lucks sikj toom easchte Mol /*

as Jasch and Lucks REFL to.the first time

Sikj ***haude***$_1$ *Bea* ***jekofft***$_2$ *//*

REFL had beer buy:PTCP

[Donn wisste se daut Voda daut /

then knew they COMP father that

Vebode$_2$ *haud*$_1$ *vom Hoff.]*

forbid:PTCP had from.the yard

'As Jasch and Lucks bought themselves / Beer for the first time, //

[They knew that father had / Forbidden that on his yard.]' (RE1972: 25)

(54) b. *Jeat meend, ekj wudd*$_1$ *mi aul jearn befrieen*$_2$ */*
George opined I would REFL already gladly marry:INF
Wan ekj bloos soone Mejal ***kunn***$_1$ ***kjrieen***$_2$ *//*
if I just such.a girl could get:INF
Waut scheene Päpanät ***kunn***$_1$ ***backen***$_2$ */*
REL nice *Päpanät* could bake:INF
De Kjeaj ***kunn***$_1$ *malkjen*$_2$ *un Brennholt* ***hacken***$_2$
the cows could milk:INF and firewood chop:INF
'George said, "I would like to get married, / If only I could get a girl //
Who could bake nice *Päpanät* (traditional sweet bread rolls), / Could
milk the cows and chop firewood.' (JMF2001: 7)

While this observation might serve to account for a considerable number of examples of verb-final 1-2 order in poetry, it nevertheless leaves open the larger question of the motivation of this order in prose, where rhyme scheme ostensibly plays little role. If one may presume such variation in linear order to be other than wholly random, then it remains to be determined what further structural, semantic, and sociolinguistic factors might bear upon the selection of one order over the other in a particular verb-final context. What other factors, then, may be relevant for each author?

In order to explore this problem, a generalized linear mixed-effects model was constructed in which the order of verbs (i.e. 1-2 or 2-1) in verb-final contexts in two-element finite complementation constructions was treated as a dependent binary variable whose value was to be predicted from other factors noted in earlier analysis. Generalized linear mixed-effects models, as the name suggests, might be viewed as an extension of linear mixed-effects models to classes of predictors with specific error distributions and ranges of values. In this case, since the dependent variable is binary – the observed word order in verb-final contexts may be either 1-2 or 2-1 – logistic regression might be carried out to estimate the probability of each binary outcome, rather than treat these two logically possible values as merely points in a range of real numbers (cf. Baayen 2008: 216). Where generalized linear mixed-effects models have a potential advantage over 'traditional' logistic regression lies in their ability to differentiate between fixed effects (factors in which the observed levels are repeatable across investigations, and thus not wholly dependent upon sampling) and random effects (factors in which the observed levels represent a potentially non-repeatable and incomplete sample of a larger population of potential values). In a corpus selection of verbal complementation phenomena, such as the present one, individual verbs involved in complementation constructions might be seen as representing a finite sample of an ostensibly much larger population (namely that of all verbs which take verbal complements), and thus might be modelled as random effects. By contrast, common morphosyntactic categories of these verbs (e.g. their tense, person, number) might be seen as being both fully specified and repeatable, with each additional verb sampled presumably demonstrating some number of these finite traits, as well, and thus present suitable fixed effects. This distinction between fixed and random effects proves critical in mixed effects models, which permit fixed effects to be modelled as contrasts (as is also typical in non-mixed effect models), and random effects as random variables having a mean of zero and a standard variation estimated from the sampled items. Rather than treating *all* predictors in the model as repeatable fixed effects, then, as in 'traditional' logistic regression, mixed-effect logistic regression recognizes that non-repeatable levels exist, and that any given sample of these levels must be presumed at most to represent *trends* in the larger, unsampled population, rather than to characterize this population in its entirety. For further discussion of mixed-effect models and their applications in linguistics, see Baayen (2008).

To begin to develop a generalized linear mixed-effects model of the orders selected by each author in verb-final contexts, the lemmas of the matrix verbs (V1) and of the complement verbs (V2), as well as the complementizers (if any) which introduce each clause (Comp) are proposed as random effects. The initial set of fixed effects included each of the major schemas introduced above; the genre in which each example sentence occurs (i.e. in poetry or prose); the length of each verb-final clause, approximated here as its length in characters; the passivity of each sentence (i.e. passive or active); the presence or absence of coordination involving the complement infinitive in each sentence; the tense (i.e. present or past) and number (i.e. singular or plural) of the finite matrix verb; as well as all of these factors in their interactions with each author. The schemas *Auxiliary – Infinitive*, *Modal – Participle*, and *Lexical – Participle* were removed as outliers in light of their extreme infrequency. This had the effect of eliminating nine verb-final examples from consideration in the model, leaving 1352 sentences for consideration. This model was implemented in R 2.6.2 using the lme4 library (version 0.99875-9) and fitted to the present data. The fixed and random effects structures of the resulting model are reported in Table 3.10 and Table 3.11 below.[31]

Inspection of the fixed effects structure of the fitted model proves instructive. All fixed effects listed in the leftmost column of Table 3.11 are contrast coded, and should therefore be interpreted as adjustments to the intercept listed in the first row, which represents non-passive, non-coordinate *Auxiliary – Modal* constructions having a past tense, plural matrix verb and appearing in the verse portion of JMF. The estimates listed in the second column of this table give the degree to which each factor level contributes to either 1-2 (negative value) or 2-1 (positive value) order in the model, with the interactions between different factor levels listed in the last eleven rows interpreted in the same way. The standard error and *z*-score for each estimate are interpreted as elsewhere; the final *p*-value gives the statistical significance of each factor level based on the presented *z*-scores.

Random Effect	Variance	Standard Deviation	Group Size
V1Lemma (Intercept)	0.88383	0.94012	37
V2Lemma (Intercept)	0.10077	0.31744	510
Comp (Intercept)	2.90885	1.70554	54

Table 3.10. Random effects structure of the initial generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). Estimated variance and standard deviation are as given; group sizes present the number of levels noted for each random effect.

---

[31] Model deviance: 1203; log-likelihood: -601.4; AIC: 1257; BIC: 1397; estimated scale (compared to 1): 0.9642307. Somer's D_{xy} = 0.8648306, index of concordance C = 0.9324153.

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Std. Error	z-Value	p	
(Intercept)	-2.71355	0.91217	-2.975	0.002932	***
AuthorRE	1.15320	0.78818	1.463	0.143434	
SchemaAUX-zINF	1.62707	0.90579	1.796	0.072447	.
SchemaLEX-INF	-1.84836	1.10336	-1.675	0.093892	.
SchemaLEX-zINF	-0.81250	0.70037	-1.160	0.246012	
SchemaMOD-INF	-0.63639	1.04929	-0.606	0.544188	
TextGenreProse	1.27844	0.36320	3.520	0.000432	***
V1TensePresent	0.60707	0.19319	3.142	0.001677	**
V1NumberSingular	0.23545	0.20774	1.133	0.257040	
CoordinationSharedCP	-0.59368	0.88237	-0.673	0.501061	
CoordinationSharedV	-0.86422	0.45470	-1.901	0.057349	.
ClauseLength	-0.50030	0.10784	-4.639	3.50e-06	***
IsPassiveTRUE	3.92663	1.76679	2.222	0.026252	*
AuthorRE:SchemaAUX-zINF	-3.57068	1.56372	-2.283	0.022404	*
AuthorRE:SchemaLEX-INF	1.08381	1.95108	0.555	0.578557	
AuthorRE:SchemaLEX-zINF	-0.25707	1.23713	-0.208	0.835388	
AuthorRE:SchemaMOD-INF	2.88766	0.64504	4.477	7.58e-06	***
AuthorRE:TextGenreProse	2.72363	0.73362	3.713	0.000205	***
AuthorRE:V1TensePresent	-1.15900	0.61801	-1.875	0.060741	.
AuthorRE:V1NumberSingular	-0.68039	0.69273	-0.982	0.326013	
AuthorRE:CoordinationSharedCP	-2.24520	1.69775	-1.322	0.186017	
AuthorRE:CoordinationSharedV	-0.30132	1.21371	-0.248	0.803929	
AuthorRE:ClauseLength	0.09088	0.25877	0.351	0.725450	
AuthorRE:IsPassiveTRUE	12.45814	608.49742	0.020	0.983668	

Table 3.11. Fixed effects structure of the initial generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). Significance of each fixed effect is indicated symbolically in the rightmost column ($\alpha < 0.001$: ***; $\alpha < 0.01$: **; $\alpha < 0.05$: *; $\alpha < 0.1$: .).

Several observations might be made on the basis of the fixed-effects structure of this initial model. First, it would seem that constructional schemas themselves are only marginally significant predictors of verbal order when considered for both authors, but gain considerable significance when considered for each author individually: 2-1 order would appear significantly more likely in *Modal – Bare Infinitive* constructions and 1-2 order in *Auxiliary – Too Infinitive* constructions for RE more so than for JMF. In contrast, passive constructions would not appear to influence verbal order in RE alone, but rather demonstrate a strong preference for 2-1 order in the works of both authors; likewise, clause length, an important predictor favouring 1-2 order (i.e. longer clauses are more likely to feature 1-2 order) would appear common to both authors, rather than specific to one author in particular. The fixed effects structure further suggests not only a stronger general preference for 2-1 order in prose than in verse (or, equivalently, a stronger preference for 1-2 order in verse than in prose, a pattern which would seem in keeping with observations made earlier in this section of verse-specific functions of 1-2 order in the works of both authors), but an even more marked tendency towards 2-1 order in the prose texts of RE. Somewhat unexpectedly, present-tense matrix verbs appear slightly more likely to occur in 2-1 order than past-tense verbs, an observation not made in the earlier survey of two-element finite verbal complementation constructions.

This inspection of the fixed-effects structure of this model further reveals many areas in which improvements might be made. In particular, many factors and interactions would appear superfluous to the statistical prediction of verbal order, and thus might be eliminated from the model. A revised version of this model which eliminates all non-significant factors and interactions from the fixed-effects structure is presented in Table 3.12 and Table 3.13;[32] slight increases in the significance levels of many of the remaining factors in this model are noted. Further changes to the revised model might be proposed: tests of alternative models employing complement verb status and matrix and complement verb type, rather than constructional schemas, have been conducted. While viable, these verb-feature centered models would appear (in comparison of measures of deviance, log-likelihood, and scale for both sets of model) marginally less successful in their application to the present data. Similarly, alternative models employing inflected verb forms, rather than lemmas, as random effects have been successfully fitted to the data, and produce altogether reasonable results, although lemmas would appear (again on the basis of comparisons of model deviance, log-likelihood, and scale values) to represent slightly more suitable predictors in this instance.

---

[32] Model deviance: 1208; log-likelihood: -603.8; AIC: 1250, BIC: 1359; estimated scale (compared to 1): 0.9743713. Both Somer's D_{xy} and the index of concordance C appear reasonable for the revised model (cf. Baayen 2008: 226): $D_{xy} = 0.8627932$, $C = 0.9313966$.

Turning now to the random effects structure of the revised model, the contribution of individual verbs and complementizers to the orders observed in these constructions might be assessed. Table 3.14 summarizes the best linear unbiased predictor values (i.e. the adjustments made on a by-verb basis by the revised model to account for observed verb orders) for each matrix verb in verb-final two-element complementation constructions, with negative values again corresponding to 1-2 order, and positive values to 2-1 order. This table shows not only a striking difference in linear order tendencies between particular verbs – *proowen* 'try', *vestohnen* 'understand', and *mäajen* 'may' appear to favour 1-2 order strongly, while *doonen* 'do', *kjrieen* 'get', and *haben* 'have' favour 2-1 order – but that such differences cross-cut lexical classes and status government patterns, again suggesting that linear order and status government may be largely distinct. While it is not feasible to present similar listings of the best linear unbiased predictor values for all 510 complement verb lemmas or of the complementizers here, items in both of these classes would appear to play a significant role in the prediction of linear order, as well.

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Std. Error	*z*-Value	*p*	
(Intercept)	-2.50110	0.89240	-2.803	0.005068	**
AuthorRE	0.67305	0.59688	1.128	0.259477	
SchemaAUX-zINF	1.58811	0.90392	1.757	0.078932	.
SchemaLEX-INF	-1.85931	1.10006	-1.690	0.090991	.
SchemaLEX-zINF	-0.82567	0.69795	-1.183	0.236814	
SchemaMOD-INF	-0.63423	1.04463	-0.607	0.543762	
TextGenreProse	1.26910	0.36304	3.496	0.000473	***
V1TensePresent	0.61804	0.19301	3.202	0.001364	**
CoordinationSharedCP	-1.14579	0.85366	-1.342	0.179529	
CoordinationSharedV	-0.87837	0.42265	-2.078	0.037687	*
ClauseLength	-0.47848	0.09648	-4.959	7.08e-07	***
IsPassiveTRUE	4.13592	1.76300	2.346	0.018978	*
AuthorRE:SchemaAUX-zINF	-3.60597	1.53259	-2.353	0.018630	*
AuthorRE:SchemaLEX-INF	0.93143	1.88843	0.493	0.621848	
AuthorRE:SchemaLEX-zINF	-0.28415	1.21852	-0.233	0.815610	
AuthorRE:SchemaMOD-INF	2.75666	0.59645	4.622	3.80e-06	***
AuthorRE:TextGenreProse	2.70011	0.65501	4.122	3.75e-05	***
AuthorRE:V1TensePresent	-1.16475	0.60503	-1.925	0.054217	.

Table 3.12. Fixed effects structure of the revised generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). Significance of each fixed effect is indicated symbolically in the rightmost column ($\alpha < 0.001$: ***; $\alpha < 0.01$: **; $\alpha < 0.05$: *; $\alpha < 0.1$: .).

Random Effect	Variance	Standard Deviation	Group Size
V1Lemma (Intercept)	0.86772	0.93151	37
V2Lemma (Intercept)	0.10935	0.33067	510
Comp (Intercept)	2.87420	1.69535	54

Table 3.13. Random effects structure of the revised generalized linear mixed-effects model ($n = 1352$). Estimated variance and standard deviation are as given; group sizes present the number of levels noted for each random effect.

Matrix verb lemma	BLUP	1. Status	2. Status	3. Status
proowen 'try'	-1.60548192	0	4	0
vestohnen 'understand'	-1.46301049	0	4	0
mäajen 'may'	-1.22466863	17	0	0
moaken 'make'	-1.04521078	1	1	0
derwen 'may'	-0.91320089	1	0	0
woaren 'be' (passive aux.)	-0.82505069	0	0	37
aunfangen 'begin'	-0.81530949	0	16	0
woaren 'will' (modal)	-0.71468992	190	0	0
jleichen 'like'	-0.66680903	0	4	0
seehnen 'see'	-0.64849515	7	0	0
veseakjen 'try'	-0.56109572	0	4	0
weeten 'know'	-0.55005596	0	1	0
hearen 'hear'	-0.48007098	4	0	0
motten 'must'	-0.45182148	28	0	1
späahren 'feel'	-0.40368695	0	2	0
sellen 'shall'	-0.36954798	74	0	0
jleewen 'believe'	-0.32746715	0	2	0
halpen 'help'	-0.29383167	2	0	0
aunbeeden 'offer'	-0.23380745	0	1	0
beschluuten 'decide'	-0.17853366	0	1	0
wellen 'want'	-0.17426947	78	0	0
hankomen 'arrive'	-0.17364571	3	0	0
vejäten 'forget'	-0.11760263	0	1	0
oppjäwen 'give up'	-0.07425251	0	1	0
wählen 'vote, choose'	-0.04435270	0	1	0
komen 'come'	0.24125318	11	1	0
fählen 'need, lack'	0.57413384	1	3	0
kjennen 'can'	0.99093354	223	0	0
gohnen 'go'	1.35628834	2	6	0
sennen 'be'	1.54501399	1	16	145
leahren 'learn, teach'	1.59192405	6	0	0
foahren 'drive'	1.64982438	1	0	0
loten 'let'	1.67423482	12	0	0
haben 'have'	1.74294120	0	13	383
bliewen 'stay, remain'	1.80445590	1	0	0
kjrieen 'get'	2.61040504	0	4	5
doonen 'do'	3.20821989	39	0	0

Table 3.14. Matrix verbs and the status of their complements in verb-final two element complementation constructions, listed in increasing order of best linear unbiased predictor (BLUP) values estimated for each verb in the revised model.

Taken together, then, this revised model would appear to suggest several factors to be simultaneously relevant in the selection of 1-2 or 2-1 order in verb-final contexts. Beyond an apparent preference for 1-2 order in poetry in the works of both authors, albeit most noticeably in RE, constructional schema, passivity, and matrix verb tense emerge as significant predictors of verbal order. Clause length, though of lesser overall effect than certain other of these factors, would appear to be among the most robustly confirmed predictors in this model, a result which might suggest one possible motivation for these distinct word orders. While it cannot be asserted that clause length is entirely independent of other factors in this model – some correlation with text genre would seem probable, in that lines in rhymed verse might be expected to feature on the whole shorter sentences than prose, and similarly with infinitival coordination – that 1-2 order should be preferred in longer sentences would seem intriguing, and may suggest the influence of processing effects upon the selection of orders, either synchronically or in the historical development of these constructions, a hypothesis which is not without precedent in the literature on verb cluster syntax (cf. Lötscher 1978, Haider 2003). That is, it might be proposed that, in longer clauses, 1-2 order serves in part to reduce sentence processing load by introducing relevant finite verbal material earlier than would otherwise be the case. While further investigation, ideally controlling for both constructional schema and infinitival coordination, would be required to demonstrate any such consistent relationship between clause length and 1-2 order, the present model would nevertheless appear to suggest clause length to be a relevant structural predictor of verb order in these constructions, a result which merits explanation.

Further refinements to the revised model might be proposed, as well. It may be interesting to consider introducing a separate measure for the length of the clause which introduces the verb-final context under consideration in order to test whether longer and shorter matrix clauses may favour distinct word orders. Additional factors such as these might be brought into the proposed model without significant difficulty: with further coding, characteristics of the non-verbal contexts in which these constructions occur (e.g. features of adverbial and nominal material and its placement within verb-final clauses) could be entered into the model as either fixed or random effects and their interactions, if any, with verbal factors in determining word order brought to light. For those texts for which digital audio recordings are available, prosodic and phonetic information (e.g. the length of the verb-final clause in milliseconds, or the intonation contour of the utterance) might be similarly introduced as predictors in the model. The considerable freedom such generalized linear mixed effects model offer for the investigation of simultaneous contributions of disparate aspects of linguistic and sociolinguistic context upon the realization of a dependent variable would seem all the more reason to consider such models in quantitative analyses of complex linguistic phenomena, particularly where more data are available than might tractably be analyzed 'by hand'. While far from eliminating the importance of other forms of analysis, both in understanding lower-frequency phenomena and in informing the general direction in which statistical modelling proceeds, such models nevertheless suggest themselves as robust and powerful tools for the treatment of complex linguistic data, presenting methods which may render feasible the analysis of larger quantities of contextually-rich linguistic information than would otherwise be possible.

3.3.1.11. *Summary.* Constituting the most common set of complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus, two-element finite verbal complementation constructions comprise a substantial number of distinct constructions, grouped here into nine constructional schemas according to the lexical categories and morphological marking of their verbal elements. While only two relative orders of verbal elements are logically possible in such constructions, the selection of one order over the other in verb-final contexts would appear to present a problem of considerable intricacy, with certain factors influencing the selection of particular orders proving common to both of the represented authors, while others seemingly particular to one author in specific linguistic contexts. Investigation of both individual constructions within each schema and the larger statistical structure of this alternation brings attention to the apparent complexity of these constructions and their usage, presenting ample motivation for further study of this most frequent subclass of verbal complementation phenomena.

3.3.2. THREE-ELEMENT FINITE VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION CONSTRUCTIONS. Three-element finite verbal complementation constructions are identified in 402 cases in the tagged subcorpus, representing 9.2% of all finite complementation constructions in this collection of texts. Considerably rarer than the two-element complementation constructions reviewed in section 3.3.1, which comprised some 4148 (90.9%) examples, three-element constructions are, by their infrequency, unfortunately excluded from statistical analyses of the sort conducted for two-element verb-final constructions in section 3.3.1.10. Nevertheless, both quantitative and qualitative observations might still be made concerning the constructions which constitute the 14 three-element schemas and their observed patterns of linear ordering, though any conclusions arrived at on the basis of these data (in particular for those eight schemas with fewer than ten attested examples) are necessarily tentative, pending comparison with further data.

Beyond their varying frequencies, several differences between these three-element constructions and the two-element constructions reviewed in the preceding section might be noted. First, while the ratio of three-element constructions appearing in verb-second (262, 65.2%) and verb-final (140, 34.8%) contexts would appear roughly comparable to the same ratio for two-element constructions (verb-second: 2787, 67.2%; verb-final: 1361, 32.8%), their representations of poetry and prose would appear to differ significantly ($\chi^2(27.5918) = 1.498 \times 10^{-7}$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 2.559 \times 10^{-9}$) with only 15 examples (3.7%) of three-element constructions appearing in poetry (two-element constructions: 530, 12.8%) and 387 examples (96.3%) of three-element constructions in prose (two-element constructions: 3618, 87.2%). This may simply be a consequence of the requirements of the rhyme forms which predominate in the present collection of verse (i.e. it may be that three verbs are more difficult to fit into a single rhyming line than two), though this would still seem to represent a relevant difference between two and three-element constructions in the present corpus.

Second, while it would seem almost certain that more linear orders of verbs would be attested in these three-element constructions than in two-element constructions, given the expanded range of combinatorial possibilities which accompanies three verbs, it is worth observing that, of the six logically possible orders, only five (i.e. 1-2-3, 1-3-2, 2-1-3, 3-1-2, and 3-2-1) are attested, with the order 2-3-1 not occurring in the tagged subcorpus. Furthermore, these orders would not appear to be equally common in three-element constructions: 1-2-3 and 1-3-2 orders make up 95.5% (384) of all such constructions, the remaining three orders appearing twenty times altogether. Nor are all of these orders shared between the two authors: 3-2-1 order is found only (once) in the works of JMF, and never in RE; whereas 3-1-2 order is encountered only in verb-second contexts in the prose works of RE. Verbal ordering in these three-element constructions would thus seem to present a topic of some interest, given this apparent variation in the frequency of these linear orders both within and potentially between the varieties of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* represented by the two authors. The orders attested for both authors across the fourteen three-element finite verbal complementation construction schemas and their respective frequencies are presented in summarized form in Table 3.15 below.

Constructional schema	Verb order	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 3 – 2	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	51 (49 / 2)	14 (13 / 1)
	1 – 3 – 2	6 (5 / 1)	6 (2 / 4)
Auxiliary – IPP – Participle	1 – 3 – 2	4 (3 / 1)	2 (1 / 1)
	3 – 2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)
Auxiliary – IPP – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	3 (3 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)
Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	13 (13 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)
	1 – 3 – 2	2 (1 / 1)	2 (2 / 0)
Auxiliary – Participle – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	25 (23 / 2)	11 (7 / 4)
	2 – 1 – 3	0 (0 / 0)	6 (5 / 1)
Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
	1 – 3 – 2	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Participle	1 – 3 – 2	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Lexical – Bare Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 3 – 2	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)
Lexical – *Too* Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
	1 – 3 – 2	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)
Lexical – *Too* Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	2 (0 / 2)	1 (0 / 1)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	38 (34 / 4)	19 (18 / 1)
	1 – 3 – 2	26 (16 / 10)	10 (4 / 6)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle	1 – 2 – 3	11 (11 / 0)	4 (4 / 0)
	1 – 3 – 2	46 (38 / 8)	23 (21 / 2)
	3 – 1 – 2	0 (0 / 0)	5 (0 / 5)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1 – 2 – 3	24 (21 / 3)	23 (23 / 0)
	1 – 3 – 2	2 (2 / 0)	4 (2 / 2)
	2 – 1 – 3	0 (0 / 0)	5 (3 / 2)
	3 – 1 – 2	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)

Table 3.15. Overview of verbal orders attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts for each three-element finite verbal complementation construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by constructional schema. All counts are presented first for both authors, followed in parentheses by totals for JMF and RE, respectively.

3.3.2.1. *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive*. With only a single instance of this constructional schema, (30d), noted in the prose works of RE in the tagged subcorpus, little might be said of its general structural properties. It would seem reasonable in the present case, however, to argue as in section 3.2 that this example may in fact represent an instance of the more common *Auxiliary – Too Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* schema, with the infinitival *too* marker being morphologically integrated into the first verb in the verb cluster, thus creating the appearance of an *Auxiliary – Infinitive – Too Infinitive* construction schema. Further consideration of this construction and others demonstrating potentially similar infinitival marker placements is presented in section 3.2.

3.3.2.2. *Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive.* A considerable number of examples of *infinitivus-pro-participio* constructions introduced by an auxiliary and taking bare infinitival complements are noted in the tagged subcorpus (77 / 402, 19.2%), appearing in both verb-second and verb-final contexts in the poetry (10 / 77, 13%) and prose (67 / 77, 87%) works of both authors. Additional examples of these constructions in 1-2-3 (55a-b) and 1-3-2 (56a-b) orders are given below for sake of reference; further discussion of these constructions, however, is remitted until section 3.6.

Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive: Verb-second 1-2-3

(55) a. *Obraum Nekjel* ***haud***$_1$ *sikj sest emol jescheit* ***wullt***$_2$ ***utschlopen***$_3$
Abram Nickel had REFL otherwise once properly want:IPP rest.up:INF
[oba he steiht opp un doa sett Mietz un schlemmt.]
but he stands up and there sits Mietz and begs
'Abram Nickel had otherwise wanted to get a proper sleep, [but he gets

up and Mietz (the cat) is sitting there begging.' (JMF2005: 92)

Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive: Verb-final 1-2-3

(55) b. *[Dit wea de Kjeenig] waut doa Johanes* ***haud***$_1$ ***loten***$_2$ *doot* ***moaken***$_3$.
this was the king REL there John had let:IPP dead make:INF
'[This was the king] who had had John killed.' (JMF2006: 128)

Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive: Verb-second 1-3-2

(56) a. *[Ea ekj beauntwuade*$_2$ *kunn*$_1$ *kaum de Rechta wada entweschen:*
before I answer:INF could came the judge again in.between
"Daut hab$_1$ *wi aul faustjestallt*$_2$ *daut de Aunjekloagda daut nich*
that have we already determine:PTCP COMP the accused that not
weet auf he schuldig es,] un doawäajen ***hab***$_1$ *ekj siene*
knows whether he guilty is and because.of.that have I his
Aungow aus onschuldig ***enschriewe***$_3$ ***lote***$_2$.
plea as innocent register:INF let:IPP
'[Before I could answer, the judge interrupted: "We have already
determined that the accused doesn't know whether or not he is guilty,]
and I have therefore had his plea entered as not guilty."' (RE1972: 89)

Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive: Verb-final 1-3-2

(56) b. *[Kortlemp wea daut bloos soo schnorrig] daut 'se ahm nich* ***hauden***$_1$
Kortlemp was it just so strange COMP they him not had
oppoat ***weeten***$_3$ ***loten***$_2$, *[toom veroppgohnen un väasaijen.]*
apart know:INF let:IPP in.order.to go.ahread:INF and give.orders:INF

'[Kortlemp found it strange] that they hadn't let him in particular know,

[(so that he could) go ahead and give orders].' (JMF2001: 10)

3.3.2.3. *Auxiliary – IPP – Participle.* Constructions in which *infinitivus-pro-participio* effects are noted with verbs introduced by an auxiliary and taking a participial complement are attested in both JMF and RE, though only rarely, with seven such cases noted in the entire tagged subcorpus, all appearing in prose. In addition to (57) below, examples of these constructions such as (104a), (107a), and (107b) are given in section 3.6, to which further discussion of this schema is deferred.

(57) *[Oohm Obraum besag de Bilda en 'e Zeitung un laus daut*
Oohm Abram looked.at the pictures in the newspaper and read COMP
en Calgary Alberta,] 'ne Bank ***wea$_1$ beroobt$_3$ worden$_2$.***
in Calgary Alberta a bank was rob:PTCP be:IPP
'[*Oohm* (mister, minister) Abram looked at the pictures in the newspaper and read that] in Calgary, Alberta, a bank had been robbed.' (JMF2005: 16)

3.3.2.4. *Auxiliary – IPP – Too Infinitive.* Instances of *infinitivus-pro-participio* constructions taking a final second-status infinitive appear to be rare in the tagged subcorpus, occurring only four times in prose examples such as (58), (102a), and (104b) in the works of JMF. In all cases, both in verb-second and verb-final contexts, the order of verbs observed is 1-2-3; further discussion of this construction type is reserved for section 3.6.

(58) *Fuats doaropp* ***haud$_1$*** *siene kjliene Teeh aun sien linkja Foot*
immediately thereupon had his little toe on his left foot
jrindlich ***aunfangt$_2$ too zinjren$_3$*** *[un daut meend he späahd sikj bijlikj*
thoroughly start:IPP to tingle:INF and that meant he felt REFL almost
soo aus wann eena sikj emol jescheit dän Sposknoaken aun Alboagen
so as if one REFL once properly the funny.bone on elbow
jestat$_2$ haud$_1$.]
bump:PTCP had
'Immediately after that, the little toe on his left foot started to tingle hard, [and that meant he felt almost the way you do when you've really bumped the funny bone on your elbow.]' (JMF2005: 94-5)

3.3.2.5. *Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive*. Eighteen examples of perfective constructions, 14 (77.8%) introduced by *haben* 'have' and 4 (22.2%) by *sennen* 'be', comprise this constructional schema. All of these examples are drawn from the prose portion of the tagged subcorpus, with only one example appearing in the works of RE. This example, however, as with seven others from JMF, features the verb *leahren* 'learn' as its participle, which makes up a large portion of this schema. Both 1-2-3 and 1-3-2 orders are attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts. Examples of these orders are given below; as might be expected, given the high representation of constructions from JMF in this schema, 1-2-3 orders appear to be favoured (14, 77.8%), though exceptions to this pattern are certainly noted.

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive: Verb-second 1-2-3

(59) a. *Mame* ***haud***$_1$ *ahn* ***jeschekjt***$_2$*, Koohmest* ***läsen***$_3$*, [se* ***wull***$_1$ *noch*

mama had them send:PTCP cow.manure gather:INF she wanted yet

schwind waut backen too Sindag.]

quickly something bake:INF to Sunday

'Mama had sent them to gather cow patties, [she still wanted to bake something quickly for Sunday.]' (JMF2001: 45)

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive: Verb-final 1-2-3

(59) b. *[Daut wearen nu aul meare Joah von donn]*

it were now already many year from then

aus Jeat un Susch ***hauden***$_1$ ***oppjeheat***$_2$ *met Schwien* ***buaren***$_3$*.*

as George and Sarah had stop:PTCP with pig farm:INF

'[It was already many years since] when George and Sarah had stopped farming pigs.' (JMF2005: 81)[33]

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive: Verb-second 1-3-2

(60) a. ***Haben***$_1$ *de Benjels von Jrientol bloos nich* ***oabeiden***$_3$ ***jeleaht***$_2$

have the boys from Grünthal just not work:INF learn:PTCP

[ooda woo es daut doa met.]

or how is it there with

'Have the boys from Grünthal just not learned to work, [or what exactly is the situation?]' (JMF2005: 55)

---

[33] It should be noted that this example is potentially ambiguous: the final infinitival complement might also be seen as a participial phrase (i.e. '(stopped) with the farming of pigs').

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive: Verb-final 1-3-2

(60) b. *[Dit wea jrod] wua Obraum sien Uagrootvoda Petruuschtje äahre*

this was just where Abram his great.grandfather Petruschka her

Uagroossmame ***haud$_1$ kjanen$_3$ jeleaht$_2$*** *[un bi Diesta ut 'em*

great.grandmother had know:INF learn:PTCP and by dark out the

Hutterahoff jestohlen$_2$.]

Hutterite.colony steal:PTCP

'[This was exactly] where Abram's great-grandfather had gotten to know Petrushka's great-grandmother and stolen her in the dark out of the Hutterite colony.' (JMF2005: 30)

3.3.2.6. *Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive*. Searches of the tagged subcorpus reveal 42 instances of constructions which belong to this constructional schema. All appear in prose texts, and are attested in the writings of both JMF (35 / 42, 83.3%) and RE (7 / 42, 16.7%) in exact proportion to each authors' representation of three-element finite verbal complementation constructions in the corpus. Of these 42 instances, all but one appear to be instances of perfective constructions, with 31 (75.6%) introduced with *haben* 'have', and 10 (24.4%) by *sennen*. The single exception represents a passive construction introduced by the auxiliary *woaren* 'be, become', which appears in 1-2-3 order in a verb-second context in JMF.

While these three verbs comprise the entire range of auxiliaries attested in these constructions, considerably more variation is noted in the sets of participles and second-status infinitives. 29 different participial forms are attested, the most common of which being *veseakjen* 'try' (4 / 42, 9.5%), *aunfangen* 'start' (3 / 42, 7.1%), and *aunstallen* 'appoint, charge' (3 / 42, 7.1%), with all others occurring two or less times, and no fixed phrases apparent among them. Likewise, 36 distinct infinitival forms are noted as final verbal complements, with only *besorjen* 'take care of' (3 / 42, 7.1%) appearing more than twice. While this does not rule out the possibility of finer collocational affinities existing between verbs in these constructions, no such patterns are immediately apparent from inspection of the relevant data.

Two verb orders are attested for both authors among the perfective and passive constructions in this schema: 1-2-3 order, found in both verb-second and verb-final contexts, and 2-1-3 order, found only in verb-final contexts. The attestation of the latter order is somewhat surprising, given frequent reports of its absence from verb clusters patterns across the Continental West Germanic languages (cf. Wurmbrand 2004: 47). However, it might be questioned whether or not these examples indeed present three-element verb clusters, or two separate clusters, the first consisting of the auxiliary and participle, and the second of the final *too*-infinitive. In all cases, the final *too*-infinitive appears after the first two verbs, often with intervening non-verbal material separating the final complement from its matrix verb, and the only variation in word order would appear to exist in the relative positions of the first two elements, perhaps suggesting that these together form a topological syntactic unit at some level of analysis similar to the *Auxiliary – Participle* schema. Regardless of the interpretation of their clustering, such instances of complementation are well attested in verb-final contexts, and thus merit attention here. Examples of both 1-2-3 and 2-1-3 orders, the former in both verb-second and verb-final contexts, are given below.

Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive: Verb-second 1-2-3

(61) a. *Gootschekjs **haud**$_1$ dee wäa fe' dän Jung bestald$_2$ un **vejäten**$_2$*
probably had DEM someone for the boy order:PTCP and forget:PTCP
***too holen**$_3$.*
to fetch:INF
'Someone had most likely ordered them for the boy and forgotten to pick them up.' (JMF2001: 29)

Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive: Verb-final 1-2-3

(61) b. *[Jehaun es daut aul schraikjlich leed] daut he sikj daut **haud**$_1$*
John is that already terribly sorry COMP he REFL that had
***äwanohmen**$_2$ de Tiaren **too besorjen**$_3$.*
take.over:PTCP the animals to take.care.of:INF
'[John is terribly sorry] that he took over taking care of of the animals.' (JMF2005: 92)

Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive: Verb-final 2-1-3

(62) a. *[Aus he noh-huus kaum, puchd he too siene Fruu un siene Frind]*
as he to-home came bragged he to his wife and his friends
*daut dee ahm soo **jeeaht**$_2$ **hauden**$_1$ met dän Kjeenig un siene*
COMP DEM him so honour:PTCP had with the king and his

Fruu toop ***too äten$_3$.***

wife together to eat:INF

'[When he came home, he bragged to his wife and his friends] that they (i.e. the king and queen) had honoured him so to (be able to) eat together with the king and queen.' (JMF2006: 91)

(62) b. *[Un von nu aun kaun$_1$ he mi met Bescheidenheit aunräde$_2$*

and from now on can he me with modesty address:INF

aus soonem däm de huagdietsche Harschoftlichkjeit opprechtig

as such.ACC.M DEM.ACC the High.German nobility honourably

un veoawtlich tookjemmt] wiel he Württemboaja jebuare$_2$ es$_1$,

and by.inheritance comes.to because he Württemberger bear:PTCP is

un sikj oba ***entschlote$_2$ haft$_1$*** *Plautdietsch* ***too räde$_3$*** *[wiel*

and REFL but decide:PTCP has *Plautdietsch* to speak:INF because

daut de aulascheenste Sproak es.]

it the most.beautiful language is

'[And from now on he can address me with modesty as someone to whom by inheritance High German nobility rightly belongs] since he was born a Württemberger, but who has decided instead to speak *Plautdietsch*, because that is the most beautiful language.' (RE1972 : 87)

3.3.2.7. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive*. Only four instances of constructions belonging to this constructional schema are attested in the tagged subcorpus, all appearing in verb-second contexts in the prose works of JMF. Even in this small sample, however, variation in word order is noted, with half of the attested instances appearing in 1-2-3 order, as in (63a), the remainder in 1-3-2 order, as in (63b).

(63) a. *Dän Hoawst* ***ha'n***$_1$ *Jehaun un siene Fruu daut drock* ***methalpen***$_2$

the.ACC autumn have John and his wife it busy help.with:INF

Schwien ***schlachten***$_3$.

pig slaughter:INF

'That fall, John and his wife are busy helping butcher pigs.' (JMF1994: 60)

(63) b. *[Aus ekj eascht Joahren wea*$_1$ *von Huus jewast*$_2$*],*

as I first years was from home be:PTCP

kaum$_1$ *ekj een Hoawst trigj* ***draschen***$_3$ ***halpen***$_2$.

came I one autumn back thresh:INF help:INF

'[Once I had been away from home for years,] I came back one fall to help with threshing.' (JMF2005: 85)

3.3.2.8. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Participle*. Both attested instances of this constructional schema would appear to constitute passive constructions introduced by imperative forms of *loten* 'let', and occur in verb-second contexts in the prose works of JMF. Further data may reveal additional variation among the possible construction types in this schema, although this would appear to represent the extent of what might be found in the present corpus.

(64) a. ***Lot*$_1$** *dien Wellen opp 'e Ead jrod soo* ***jedonen*$_3$** ***woaren*$_2$** *aus em Himmel*

let your will on the earth just so do:PTCP be:INF as in.the heaven

'Let your will be done on earth just as in heaven.' (JMF2006: 102)

(64) b. *[He auntwuad,] "****lot*$_1$** *dän Maun met 'ne Kroon opp sien Kopp en*

he answered let the man with a crown on his head in

Kjeenigskjleeda met dän Kjeenig siene Pead un Woagen en 'e

king's.clothes with the king his horses and wagon in the

Staudt längd de Gaussen ***jefeaht*$_3$** ***woaren*$_2$***."*

city along the streets carry:PTCP be:INF

'[He answered,] "Let the man be driven along the streets in the city with the king's horses and carriage with a crown on his head and in royal clothing.' (JMF2006: 91-2)

3.3.2.9. *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive*. Only a single instance of this constructional schema, (65), is identified in the tagged subcorpus, appearing in a verb-second context in a prose text by RE. This example may nevertheless be of interest for analysis: it might be viewed as an exceptional instance of verbal complementation, as this schema would suggest; or as a case similar to that of the schema *Auxiliary – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* (§ 3.3.2.1), in which the infinitival marker *too* appears to have become morphologically associated with the first element of the verbal cluster in which the verb to which it was assigned is found; or even as a case of potential reanalysis of *kjane leahre* 'to get to know' as a single verb. Further investigation may thus be warranted of this and similar examples.

(65) [*Un aus ekj doaraun docht woo Taunte Marie äah Fiefpundja mi*
and as I there.on thought how aunt Marie her five.pound-ADJ.M me
veängst$_2$ *haud*$_1$,] *jankad*$_1$ *mi aul goanich soonem* ***too kjane***$_2$
scare:PTCP had enticed me EMPH not.at.all such.ACC.M to know:INF
leahre$_3$ *[dee een poahundatpundja Iesbraund aufschlape*$_2$ *kunn*$_1$*.]*
learn:INF REL a couple.hundred.pound Isbrand drag.off:INF could
'[And as I thought about how Aunt Marie's five-pounder had scared me,
I wasn't at all enticed to get to know one like that [which could drag away
a couple-hundred-pound Isbrand.]' (RE1972: 96)

3.3.2.10. *Lexical – Too Infinitive – Bare Infinitive*. Two instances of constructions belonging to this schema are found in the tagged subcorpus, both in the prose works of JMF. While little might be said of consistent ordering patterns in this schema, these examples are still of some interest in the matter of *too* infinitival marker placement. Here, unlike in the *Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* construction reviewed above, the second-status marker required of complements of the lexical verb appears immediately before the complement itself, rather than before the verb cluster in which it appears. This may represent evidence of dialectal differences between RE and JMF in the placement of the *too* infinitival marker (or perhaps in the treatment of verb clusters in which the final complement is a participle), although further examples would be required to demonstrate this to be the case.

(66) a. *Ellre Menschen* ***woagden***$_1$ *sikj nich too wiet von Huus* ***too reisen***$_2$

older people dared REFL not too far from home to travel:INF

Oabeit ***seakjen***$_3$*, [dan daut head 'sikj soo wann se en 'e Post lausen,*

work seek:INF since it heard REFL so when they in the post read:PST

daut wea aundatwäajes nuscht nich bäta.]

it was elsewhere nothing not better

'Older people didn't dare to journey too far from home looking for work, since it sounded, when they read the papers, as if it weren't any better anywhere else.' (JMF1994: 41)

(66) b. *(...) wann se un Jeat uk emma* ***sträwden***$_1$ *met een kloaret*

if she and George also always strove with a clear

Jewessen ***schlopen***$_3$ ***too gohnen***$_2$.

conscience sleep:INF to go:INF

'...even if she and George always strove to go to sleep with a clear conscience.' (JMF2005: 78)

3.3.2.11. *Lexical – Too Infinitive – Too Infinitive*. The three examples of this schema in the tagged subcorpus are all found in the prose works of RE, with two of these examples in fact representing coordinate final complements of a single complementation construction. These examples are given below as (67a) and (67b); example (67a) in particular would appear to suggest that the adjectival arguments in adjectival-phrasal constructions are not verbal complements themselves, even when these are derived from participles (as with *vepflicht* 'compelled'). In the presented examples, 1-2-3 ordering is consistent across verb-second (67b) and verb-final (67a) contexts.

(67) a. *[Daut wea*$_1$ *emma too moakje*$_2$ *daut wann een gaunz jeweehnelja*
it was always to notice:INF COMP when a entirely normal
Mensch sikj too waut utleahd, un he sikj ***aunfung***$_1$ *vepflicht* ***too***
person REFL to something educated and he REFL started compelled to
feehle$_2$ *siene niee Weisheit* ***too wiese***$_3$*, [daut he dann emma dolla*
feel:INF his new wisdom to show:INF COMP he then always more
em Huagdietsche 'nenlenkjd.]
in.the High.German.ADJ.N turned.in
'[It was always noticeable that, when a completely normal person got educated for some (profession), and he started to feel compelled to demonstrate his new(-found) wisdom, that he turned more and more to High German.' (RE1972: 78)

(67) b. *Un biem Sot knacke* ***proowd***$_1$ *wi Kjinja ons daut* ***uttooleahre***$_2$*,*
and by.the seed crack:INF tried we kids REFL that finish.training:INF
daut fresche Sot aun eene Sied Muul ***'nen-too-schmiete***$_3$*, un de*
the fresh seed on one side mouth in-to-threw:INF and the
utjeschlowne Schale aun 'e aundre Sied ***'ruut-too-blose***$_3$ *[aus*
shelled shells on the other side out-to-blow:INF as
'et bi de Draschmaschien jedone$_2$ *woat*$_1$ *wann se de Goawe*
it by the threshing.machine do:PTCP is when they the sheaves

opp 'en Enj 'nenstoake un daut Strooh opp 'em aundre Enj
on an end pitch.in and the straw on the other end
'ruutblost, opp 'em Huupe 'nopp.]
blows.out on the heap onto
'And while cracking (sunflower) seeds, we kids tried to teach ourselves to toss the fresh seed in one side of the mouth and to blow out the shells on the other, as it's done with a threshing machine when they pitch the sheaves in one end and the straw blows out the other end onto a pile.' (RE1972: 94)

3.3.2.12. *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive*. The largest constructional schema grouping together three-element finite verbal complementation constructions, the *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* schema comprises some 93 (93 / 402, 23.1%) constructional instances. 72 of these examples (77.4%) appear in the works of JMF, and 21 (22.6%) in the works of RE, though this difference in attestation is itself not significant when compared against the ratio of poetry to prose in other three-element complementation constructions in the works of these authors ($\chi^2(2.518) = 0.1126$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.1113$). Likewise, while only three examples of these constructions are found in poetry (these all appearing in verb-second contexts), and the remaining 90 in prose, no statistically-significant difference is observed between the ratio of poetry-to-prose in these constructions and the same ratio for all other three-element verbal complementation constructions ($\chi^2(0.0003) = 0.9851$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 1$), suggesting these constructions to be common to both authors and without associations with any one genre uncharacteristic of three-element verbal complementation constructions in general.

Constructions within this schema would appear divisible into two major classes. The first represents periphrastic future constructions introduced by *woaren* 'will' (61 / 93, 65.6%), as exemplified in (68b) and (69a) below. Of the 17 verbs attested as infinitival complements of *woaren* in these constructions, the most common would appear to be either modal (e.g. *kjennen* 'can' (17 / 61, 27.9%), *motten* 'must' (12 / 61, 19.7%), *wellen* 'want' (5 / 61, 8.2%)) or lexical (e.g. causative *loten* 'let' (9 / 61, 14.8%), *halpen* 'help' (4 / 61, 6.6%), *komen* 'come' (2 / 61, 3.3%)). A considerably wider range of verbs appear as the final infinitival complements in these constructions, however, with 51 different verbs attested across 61 instances, the most frequent of these being the verbs of motion *foahren* 'drive' (5 / 61, 8.2%), *gohnen* (3 / 61, 4.9%), and *komen* (2, 3.3%), with the remaining 48 appearing two times or less.

The second class of constructions within this schema are the three-element modal constructions, which are introduced by *kjennen* 'can' (9 / 93, 9.7%), *sellen* 'shall' (7 / 93, 7.5%), *wellen* 'want' (7 / 93, 7.5%), *motten* 'must' (4 / 93, 4.3%), *mäajen* 'may' (4 / 93, 4.3%), and *doonen* 'do' (1 / 93, 1.1%) and represented in examples (68a) and (69b). The set of infinitival complements of these verbs is similar to that of periphrastic future constructions, featuring causative *loten* 'let' (9 / 32, 28.1%), *haben* 'have' (4 / 32, 12.5%), *gohnen* 'go', *leahren* 'learn', and *moaken* 'make' (each 3 / 32, 9.4%) among the 12 verbs attested. Few modals are noted among this set of complements, however: only *kjennen* 'can' and *derwen* 'may' are attested, although each is found only two times or less. As in periphrastic future constructions, the set of verbs noted as final verbal complements is diverse, with 28 verbs found across all 32 modal constructions in the tagged subcorpus, with little apparent semantic affinity between them. In both periphrastic future and modal constructions, only one possible phrasal item is observed, namely *gohnen loten* 'let go', which appears three times in each construction.

Both classes of constructions would not appear to differ in the relative frequency of the orders which they permit in verb-second and verb-final contexts, with both classes demonstrating 1-2-3 and 1-3-2 in both contexts. Examples of each order in each context are provided below.

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive: Verb-second 1-2-3

(68) a. *Un doch* ***wull***$_1$ *he dee daut nich* ***loten***$_2$ ***enwoaren***$_3$ *[daut he*

and yet wanted he DEM that not let:INF notice:INF COMP he

sikj nich met de Sach wisst.]

REFL not with the matter knew

'And still he didn't want to have them notice [that he didn't wasn't versed in the matter.]' (JMF2001: 48)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive: Verb-final 1-2-3

(68) b. *[Oba ekj wundad mi doch woo groot soona senne*$_2$ *mucht*$_1$*] dee*

but I wondered REFL yet how big such.M be:INF might REL

utjewossne Maunslied ***wudd***$_1$ ***kjenne***$_2$ *en 'e Hal* ***'nenschlape***$_3$.

grown.up men would can:INF in the hell drag.into:INF

'[But I wondered how big one like that might be] that would be able to drag full-grown men into hell.' (RE1972: 96)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive: Verb-second 1-3-2

(69) a. *Un daut* ***wudde***$_1$ *dee dann uk* ***jleewe***$_3$ ***motte***$_2$ *– ooda weens nich*

and that would DEM then also believe:INF must:INF or at.least not

raicht ***vestriede***$_3$ ***kjenne***$_2$.

right dispute:INF can:INF

'And they would then have to believe that, too – or at least wouldn't be able to dispute it properly.' (RE1972: 63)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive: Verb-final 1-3-2

(69) b. *[Ekj pracha di, kom š[illegible]ia ahr aun] soo daut se* ***kaun***$_1$ ***läwen***$_3$

I beg you come touch her ADV so COMP she can live:INF

bliewen$_2$.

stay:INF

'[I beg you, come touch her] so that she can remain living.' (JMF2006: 104)

3.3.2.13. *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle*. With 89 instances identified in the tagged subcorpus, modal-introduced bare infinitives taking second-status complements represent the second most common constructional schema among three-element finite verbal complementation constructions, making up 22.1% of all such constructions. 74 of these (83.1%) of these are found in the works of JMF, while 15 (16.9%) occur in RE, presenting little apparent evidence for a clear preference for these constructions over any other three-element constructions by either author ($\chi^2(0.0115) = 0.9144$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 1$). Interestingly, however, there may be reason to suspect an association between these constructions and the prose genre, in which all examples occur (or, alternatively, a marked dispreference for such constructions in poetry): a Fisher exact test comparing the attestation of each genre in these constructions to the same for all other three-element constructions would appear to suggest that poetry is underrepresented in this schema (Fisher $p = 0.04993$), though this statistic is only barely significant at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level.

As with the *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* schema discussed in section 3.3.2.12, this schema might be divided into two distinct sets of constructions on the basis of their first matrix verbs, namely periphrastic future constructions with the modal ***woaren*** 'will' (43 / 89, 48.3%) and modal constructions with a range of verbs (i.e. ***sellen*** 'shall' (18 / 89, 20.2%), ***motten*** 'must' (12 / 89, 13.5%), ***wellen*** 'want' (8 / 89, 9.0%), ***kjennen*** 'can' (7 / 89, 7.9%), and ***määjen*** 'may' (1 / 89, 1.1%)). These constructions in turn serve to introduce three distinct classes of constructions in their bare-infinitival complements: passive constructions introduced by the auxiliary ***woaren*** 'be, become' (48 / 89, 53.9%); perfective constructions (49 / 89, 55.1%) introduced by ***haben*** 'have' (23, / 89 25.8%) or ***sennen*** (16 / 89, 18.0%); and two instances of ***bliewen*** 'remain, stay' (2 / 89, 2.2%), both appearing in 1-3-2 in verb-second contexts in JMF as part of the phrase ***woaren bliewen veschoont*** 'will be spared, will remain safe'. As this last construction has only marginal attestation here, primary attention will be given to passive and perfective constructions below.

Among the 48 passive constructions noted in this schema, 32 different participial complement verbs are observed, suggesting this construction to be relatively open in the verbs it accepts as complements. While these verbs vary considerably in their semantic classes, a subclass of verbs related to physical punishment would appear to stand out quantitatively, making up over a quarter of the attested participial forms (e.g. *dootmoaken* 'kill' (6 / 48, 12.5%), *strofen* 'punish' (4 / 48, 8.3%), *bestrofen* 'punish' (2 / 48, 4.2%), *kjwälen* 'torture' (1 / 48, 2.1%). Given the function of the passive to bring additional emphasis to the verbal action and its undergoer or experiencer and to render the agent of this action less prominent, it would not seem entirely out of place that these verbs should find usage in the passive, bringing to the fore the experience of punishment itself, rather than those who enact it. In the perfective constructions, by comparison, no such clear semantic classes are observed, the most frequent participial collocates among the 27 different verbs attested being *sennen* 'be' (9 / 39, 23.1%) and *weeten* 'know' (3 / 39, 7.7%), with all others appearing two times or less. With the exception of *woaren veschoont bliewen* 'will be spared, remain safe', no fixed phrases or idioms appear prominent among either perfective or passive constructions.

With respect to the linear orders of verbal complements observed in these constructions, it would seem that 1-2-3 order is attested only in JMF, 11 times in verb-second contexts, and four times in verb-final contexts; while 3-1-2 order is found only in RE, and then only five times in verb-final contexts. While further data from both authors might show this apparent division to be merely coincidental, it would seem that, in the tagged subcorpus, only 1-3-2 order is shared by both JMF (38 verb-second, 21 verb-final) and RE (8 verb-second, 2 verb-final) in this schema. Interestingly, while no differences are apparent in the frequency of 1-3-2 between passive and modal constructions in RE (four verb-second, one verb-final in both constructions), 3-1-2 order would appear to dominate in passives, with only one instance of this order attested in a modal construction. Though these data are limited, this might suggest a distinction between ordering preferences in three-element passive and modal constructions in RE, with passives more often demonstrating 3-1-2 order.

Such a distinction in orders between three-element passive and modal constructions within this schema would appear more pronounced in JMF. In passive constructions in JMF, 1-2-3 order is attested only once, appearing in a verb-second context; all other passives demonstrate 1-3-2 order in both verb-second (20 / 48, 41.7%) and verb-final (18 / 48, 37.5%) contexts. Contrasted with an almost equal division between 1-2-3 (10 verb-second, 4 verb-final) and 1-3-2 (16 verb-second, 3 verb-final) orders in modal constructions, it would seem that these two classes of constructions may indeed differ for JMF with respect to their ordering, with passives strongly favouring 1-3-2 order and modals permitting both 1-3-2 and 1-2-3.

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle: Verb-second 1-2-3

(70) a. *Irjend 'ne Somm* ***wudd***$_1$ *ahr* ***sennen***$_2$ *goot* ***jewast***$_3$*.*

any a sum would her be:INF good be:PTCP

'Any amount would have been fine with her.' (JMF2005: 34)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle: Verb-final 1-2-3

(70) b. *[Daut wea een langa, strenja Saskatchewan Winta täajen daut*

it was a long severe Saskatchewan winter against the *scheene Wada en Belize un eena kaun sikj denkjen] woo Oant*

nice weather in Belize and one can REFL think:INF how Aaron

sikj ***woat***$_1$ ***haben***$_2$ *trigj* ***jebangt***$_3$.

REFL will have:INF back yearn:PTCP

'It was a long, severe Saskatchewan winter compared with the pleasant weather in Belize, and one can imagine] how Aaron will have yearned to (go) back.' (JMF2005: 14)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle: Verb-second 1-3-2

(71) a. *[Wann vondoagschendagsche Junges soo oolt send aus ekj don wea,]*

when today's boys so old are as I then was

welle$_1$ *dee aul lang* ***jewisst***$_3$ ***habe***$_2$ *[wua Eiskriem häakjemmt.]*

want DEM already long know:PTCP have:INF where ice.cream comes.from

'When boys today are as old as I was then, they presume to have already known for a long time [where ice cream comes from.]' (RE1972: 50)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle: Verb-final 1-3-2

(71) b. *[Daut wea Josef sien Wunsch opp sien Stoawbad,] daut de*

it was Joseph his wish on his deathbed COMP the

Knoakes ***sullen***$_1$ *en Kanaan* ***begrowt***$_3$ ***woaren***$_2$.

bones should in Canaan bury:PTCP be:INF

'[It was Joseph's wish on his deathbed] that the bones should be buried in Canaan.' (JMF2006: 43)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle: Verb-final 3-1-2

(72) *Un mi wea dann emma soo aus wann de jeleahda Russlända*

and me was then always so as if the learned *Russländer*

daut aundasch ***jesaigt***$_3$ ***wudd***$_1$ ***habe***$_2$.

it differently say:PTCP would have:INF

'And it always seemed to me as if the educated *Russländer* [Post-Russian Revolution Mennonite emigrant] would have said it differently.'

(RE1972: 77)

3.3.2.14. *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive*. Lastly, 59 instances of constructions in which a modal-introduced bare infinitive takes a second-status complement are found in the tagged subcorpus. Only two of these 59 appear in poetry, both in the works of JMF; this would not appear to represent a significant departure from rates of representation of poetry in other three-element verbal complementation constructions, however ($\chi^2(0.005) = 0.9434$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 1$). Likewise, while only eight of the constructions identified in this schema occur in RE, standard statistical tests suggest this difference in authorial representation to be likely no different from other three-element constructions ($\chi^2(0.2543) = 0.6141$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.5739$). Thus, the constructions comprising this schema would, when taken together, appear to be without particular association with either author or one particular genre of written texts.

Constructions within this schema would appear to be divisible into the same two classes as were proposed for *Modal – Bare Infinitive* (§3.3.1.8) and *Modal – Bare*

Infinitive – Bare Infinitive (§3.3.2.12), namely periphrastic future constructions introduced by forms of *woaren* 'will' (37 / 59, 62.7%) and general modal constructions (22 / 59, 37.3%) introduced by a range of modal verbs, here *sellen* 'shall' (7), *kjennen* 'can' (4), *mäajen* 'may' (4), *wellen* 'want' (4), and *motten* 'must' (3). Both constructions further introduce two distinct classes of constructions: adjectival and phrasal constructions supported by *sennen* 'be' (12 / 59, 20.3%); and a series of constructions involving a range of verbs (here, 25 distinct verbs) which commonly appear with second-status complements, such as *aunfangen* 'begin' (8), *veseakjen* 'try' (7), *seehnen* 'see (to)' (4), and *fählen* 'need, lack' (3). In the former set of adjectival and phrasal constructions, beyond common pairs such as *wellig sennen* 'be willing', *nieschiarig sennen* 'be curious', *o'mäajlich sennen* 'be impossible', several fixed-phrase potentatives might be noted, including *too seehnen sennen* 'to be visible' (3), *too hearen sennen* 'to be audible' (2), and *too äten sennen* 'to be edible' (1). No such fixed expressions are observed among the other constructions in this schema.

These potentative fixed phrases would appear to occupy a special position in the word orders observed for these constructions. In the works of RE, the orders 3-1-2 and 1-3-2 are attested only in verb-final context in prose with *too seehnen sennen* 'to be visible', as in (76); all other others appear to take either 2-1-3 order in verb-final position, or 1-2-3 order in verb-second position, though with only eight examples of constructions in this schema available in the tagged subcorpus for RE, this conclusion remains speculative. That such phrases may receive different syntactic treatment from other second-status complements might find some degree of support in the observation that the

1-3-2 order found in verb-second (2) and verb-final (2) contexts in JMF is attested only with these potentative fixed phrases, as in (74a). These constructions are never encountered in 2-1-3 orders (for which only two examples are attested, both in verb-final contexts in JMF and both involving postposed second-status infinitives which appear similar to those discussed in section 3.3.2.6) or in the more common 1-2-3 order (which comprises both adjectival-phrasal constructions and the broader set of second-status complement constructions, and which occurs with almost equal frequency in verb-second (21, 47.%) and verb-final (23, 52.3%) contexts). Examples of each linear order attested in the tagged subcorpus are given below; in the absence of further relevant data, the question of whether this difference in orders between potentative and non-potentative constructions is consistent or merely coincidental must be reserved as a topic for further investigation.

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive: Verb-second 1-2-3

(73) a. *[Saigt ons emol,] waut* ***wudd***$_1$ *ji* ***wenschen***$_2$ ***too haben***$_3$.

say.IMP.PL us once what would you wish:INF to have:INF

'[Tell us now,] wht would you like to have?' (JMF2001: 45)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive: Verb-final 1-2-3

(73) b. *[Daut word aul Schemma aus Oohm Fraunz bi Jintasch*

it became already dusk as *Oohm* Franz by Guenthers

enoppdreihd] un he wenschd aul, daut Jintasch ahm ***wudden***$_1$

turned.onto and he wished already COMP Guenthers him would

***aunbeeden*$_2$ *Nacht too bliewen*$_3$.**

offer:INF night to stay:INF

'[It was already getting towards dusk when *Oohm* (mister, minister) Franz turned onto the Guenthers' yard, and he wished] that Guenthers would offer him (the chance) to stay the night.' (JMF2001: 15)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive: Verb-second 1-3-2

(74) a. *[Nudelsupp betoond Dikj musst*$_1$ *eena schlurpsen*$_2$*] un daut* ***musst***$_1$

noodle.soup emphasize Dyck had.to one slurp:INF and that had.to

von 'en Enj auf ***too hearen***$_3$ ***sennen***$_2$.

from an end off to hear:INF be:INF

'["Noodle soup," Dyck stressed, "you need to slurp,] and it should be audible from a way's off."' (JMF2005: 94)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive: Verb-final 1-3-2

(74) b. *[De Apostel freiden sikj onjeheia, oba om ahn daut too wiesen,*

the apostles rejoiced REFL immensely but in.order.to them that to show:INF

fruag Jesus] auf he waut ***kunn***$_1$ ***too äten***$_3$ ***haben***$_2$.

asked Jesus whether he something could to eat:INF have:INF

'[The apostled were overjoyed, but in order to show them that, Jesus asked] if he could have something to eat.' (JMF2006: 138)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive: Verb-final 2-1-3

(75) *[Ekj mag*$_1$ *daut vielleicht uk aul jesaigt*$_3$ *habe*$_2$*] woo mi daut*

I may that maybe also already save:PTCP have:INF how me that

***jänkre**$_2$ **wudd**$_1$, eenmol daut scheene plautdietschet Laund **too finje**$_3$*
entice:INF would once that nice *Plautdietsch* country to find:INF
*un **beseakje**$_3$, [wua onse Vodasch eenmol hundade Joahre trigj*
and visit:INF where our fathers once hundreds years back
häajekome$_2$ send$_1$.]
come.from:PTCP are
'[I may have already said] how much I would like to find and visit that nice *Plautdietsch* country [where our (fore)fathers came from hundreds of years ago.]' (RE1972: 63)

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive: Verb-final 3-1-2

(76) *[Dee wudd$_1$ boold vestieme$_2$] daut doa nuscht von **too seehne**$_3$*
DEM would soon snow.over:INF COMP there nothing of to see:INF
***wudd**$_1$ **senne**$_2$, [un boold wudd$_1$ 'et diesta woare$_2$.]*
would be:INF and soon would it dark become:INF
'[It would soon snow over] so that no part of it would be visible, [and it would soon be dark.]' (RE1972: 56)

3.3.2.15. *Summary*. Three-element finite verbal complementation constructions, while an order of magnitude less frequent in the tagged subcorpus than similar two-element constructions, nevertheless present several problems relevant to the analysis of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* syntax. Among these are the syntactic status of postposed *too*-infinitives, which may give rise in, at least certain constructional contexts, to otherwise unattested 2-1-3 orders; the role of certain frequent potentative constructions in licensing otherwise unexpected verbal orders; and the morphosyntactic behaviour of the infinitival marker *too*, which occasionally demonstrates unexpected positioning and morphological integration into sentence-final verbal complexes. More generally, the considerable variety of linear orders observed in these three-element constructions might serve at once to underscore the complexity and variability of such verbal complementation phenomena and the need for further investigation. While fewer associations between individual constructions and particular genres would appear to have been noted here than in two-element constructions, there nevertheless remains the possibility that this is the result of chance, rather than any particular feature of three-element constructions or their use. Despite limited corpus attestation for several of the constructional schemas described above, three-element finite verbal complementation constructions would nevertheless appear to present a number of syntactic phenomena of broader interest, all of which might benefit from continued analysis in the light of additional data.

3.3.3. FOUR-ELEMENT FINITE VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION CONSTRUCTIONS. The least frequent set of finite verbal complementation constructions are those considered in this section, which contain four verbal elements. With only fifteen instances attested in the entire tagged subcorpus, and these divided across nine distinct constructional schemas, it should come as little surprise that most examples occur in verb-second contexts (12 / 15, 80%) and in the texts representing works of JMF (11 / 15, 73.3%), in both respects reflecting the general composition of the corpus. No schemas contain examples from verse, no schema is attested in both verb-second and verb-final contexts, and only a single constructional schema considered here, *Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive*, is attested here to be shared by both authors, limiting the amount of commentary which might be made on the range of variability permissible in such four-element constructions.

Nevertheless, some observations might be offered concerning these constructions' attested linear orders and representation across authors and verb-positional contexts, as is summarized in Table 3.16. Due to the sparseness of examples and the relatively large number of schemas into which they are classified, the following subsections discuss in greater detail four-verb constructions grouped according to the class of their initial matrix verb (i.e. modal or auxiliary), rather than by their constructional schemas proper.

Constructional schema	Order	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3-4	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Participle	1-2-4-3	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3-4	3 (2 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1-2-3-4	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – Participle – *Too* Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	2-1-4-3	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)
Auxiliary – Participle – *Too* Infinitive – Participle	2-1-4-3	0 (0 / 0)	2 (0 / 2)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1-2-3-4	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – IPP – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3-4	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3-4	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
	1-3-2-4	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)

Table 3.16. Overview of verbal orders attested in verb-second and verb-final contexts for each four-element finite verbal complementation construction in the tagged subcorpus, grouped by constructional schema. All counts are presented first for both authors, followed in parentheses by totals for JMF and RE, respectively.

3.3.3.1. *Auxiliary-introduced four-element finite verbal complementation constructions*. Three different auxiliaries are observed to introduce four-element finite verbal complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus: *haben* 'have' (7 / 14, 50%), *sennen* 'be' (1 / 15, 6.7%), and *woaren* 'be, become' (2 / 15, 13.3%). The former two auxiliaries are features of perfective constructions, while the latter appears in passive constructions. Among the perfective constructions, the lone example introduced by *sennen*, (30c) (repeated below as 77a), would appear to represent an extension of the adjectival-phrasal constructions found in both two and three-verb complementation constructions, with the bare infinitival complement of the initial adjectival-phrasal construction, *lote* 'let', here taking a complement of its own, namely *schlope* 'sleep':

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive

(77) a. *Daut* ***wea***$_1$ *ahr too väl* ***jewäse***$_2$, *een wild-framda Maun eenmol*
it was her too much be:PTCP a wild-unfamiliar man one.time
lote$_3$ *bi ahn en 'e Bood opp 'e Flua* ***schlope***$_4$.
let:INF by them in the den on the floor sleep:INF
'It was too much for her to let a complete stranger sleep on the floor of their den.' (RE1972: 56)

Of the remaining seven examples of perfective constructions introduced by *haben* 'have', three represent instances of *infinitivus-pro-participio* constructions which are discussed in detail as examples (106a) and (106b) in section 3.6. The first two kinds of non-IPP four-element perfective constructions presented here, namely *Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* (77b) and *Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Bare*

Infinitive (77c), are from JMF, and appear exclusively in verb-second contexts in 1-2-3-4 order. The remaining kind of non-IPP four-element perfective construction, *Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* (32b), appears exactly once in a verb-final context in 2-1-4-3 order in RE.

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive

(77) b. *Se* ***hauden$_1$** fe' Joahren **jerackat$_2$**, **seehnen$_3$** met Schwien **too buaren$_4$***

they had for years toil:PTCP see.to:INF with pigs to farm:INF

'They had worked hard for years trying to farm pigs.' (JMF2005: 80)

Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive

(77) c. *[Obraum musst$_1$ toostohnen$_2$] he* ***haud$_1$*** *en siene gaunze befriede*

Abram had.to admit:INF he had in his entire married

Tiet noch nich een Finja ***aunjelaigt$_2$*** *siene Fruu emol* ***halpen$_3$*** *'ne*

time still not a finger lay.on:PTCP his wife once help:INF a

Kommvoll Dieeg ***enreahren$_4$*** *un Tweebacktjes* ***rollen$_4$***.

bowl.full dough mix:INF and *Tweeback*.DIM.PL roll

'[Abram had to admit,] he hadn't once raised a finger during his entire married life (to) help his wife mix a bowlful of dough and roll out little *Tweeback* (traditional "double-decker" buns).' (JMF2005: 97)

The remaining examples of auxiliary-introduced four-verb complementation constructions, namely the passive constructions, are given in (13b) and again in (32a), and are not repeated here. The 'two' examples noted of these *Auxiliary – Participle – Too Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* constructions are in fact coordinate verbal complements of a single passive construction, *väajebrocht worde* 'were brought forward', and are themselves passive in structure, suggesting that infinitival complements of passive constructions may, in certain instances, be full verbal constructions in their own right, albeit ones required to bear second-status morphological marking.

3.3.3.2. *Modal-introduced four-element finite verbal complementation constructions.* Five instances of modals serving to introduce four-element verbal complementation constructions are noted in the tagged subcorpus. Of these five examples, two, both falling within the schema *Modal – Bare Infinitive – IPP – Bare Infinitive*, involve *infinitivus-pro-participio* effects, and are therefore discussed in more detail as examples (106c) and (106d) in section 3.6, rather than here.

The remaining two modal-introduced four-element constructions each represent distinct schemas, and are both drawn from verb-second contexts in the works of JMF. In the first of these constructions, two modals introduce two lexical verbs, the first in first status, the second in second status:

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive

(78) a. *[He saigt, eascht ha'*$_1$ *'wi de gaunze Somma toojebrocht*$_2$ *'en Bät Jeld*
he says first have we the entire summer spend:PTCP a bit money
too vedeenen$_3$ *un nu woat*$_1$ *eenem noch dän latzten Dola aul*
to earn:INF and now is one.ACC yet the last dollar already
jenohmen$_2$*] un eena* ***woat***$_1$ *woll* ***motten***$_2$ ***seehnen***$_3$ *too Foot noh-huus*
take:PTCP and one will likely must:INF see:INF to foot to-house

too komen$_4$ *[wann eena nich noch hinjawäajes wua em Growen*
to come:INF if one not yet on.the.way somewhere in.the ditch
veraikjt.]
dies.miserably
'[He says, "First we spent the entire summer earning a bit of money and now even your last dollar gets taken (away)] and you'll have to see to coming home on foot [if you don't end up dying a miserable death in a ditch somewhere along the way."]' (JMF1994: 43)

The second of these constructions involves a perfective construction introduced by a modal, in both cases *wudd* 'would', with the complement of the perfective construction appearing as the fourth and final element. The first example, introduced earlier as (39c), demonstrates 1-2-3-4 order, and is repeated here with slight changes in presentation:

Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle – Bare Infinitive

(78) b. *[Wann doa wäa haud$_1$ 'ne goode Singer Neihmaschien jehaut$_2$,]*
if there someone had a good Singer sewing.machine have:PTCP
dee ***wudd$_1$ ha'n$_2$*** *väl Oabeit* ***jekjräajen$_3$*** *Bexen* ***flekjen$_4$.***
REL would have:INF much work get:PTCP trousers patch:INF
'[If someone had had a good Singer sewing machine,] (s)he would have gotten a lot of work patching trousers.' (JMF1994: 42)

The second example of the *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle – Bare Infinitive* construction schema is quite similar to (78b), albeit demonstrating the order 1-3-2-4, rather than 1-2-3-4 as above:

(78) c. *[De aundre headen nich waut Jesus too Judas säd un aus Judas*
the others heard not what Jesus to Judas said and as Judas
haustig oppstund un veleet, dochten se, wiel he aunjestalt$_2$ *wea*$_1$
quickly stood.up and left thought they because he appoint:PTCP was
noh äahre Jeldkaust too kjikjen,] ***wudd***$_1$ ***Jesus ahm jeschekjt***$_3$
to their money.box to look:INF would Jesus him send:PTCP
haben$_2$ *mea Äten* ***kjeepen***$_4$.
have:INF more food buy:INF
'[The others didn't hear what Jesus said to Judas, and as Judas quickly stood up and left, they thought, since he had been appointed to look after their money (box), Jesus would have sent him to buy more food.'
(JMF2006: 121)

3.3.3.3. *Summary.* While sparsely represented in the tagged subcorpus, four-element finite verbal complementation constructions nevertheless shed some light upon complex complementation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*. In particular, the example (13b) / (32a) would appear to be of some importance in demonstrating the syntactic behaviour of the *too* infinitival marker with postposed second-status complements, as was noted in section 3.2. Further evidence, perhaps gathered through questionnaires, translation tasks, or other forms of direct elicitation, would be of benefit in determining the range of ordering possibilities within these constructions, which appear by and large to represent extensions of constructions encountered in two-element and three-element schemas. As a representation of these four-element constructions' frequency in actual usage, however, and their forms as produced without the intervention of a linguist, the present examples nevertheless arguably have some merit in offering a view of these constructions as they appear in naturally occurring language.

3.3.4. SUMMARY. The preceding section has sought to examine in some detail those two, three, and four-element finite verbal complementation constructions which are observed in the tagged subcorpus. These three classes of constructions, it was noted, are not equally attested in this sample: each increase in the number of verbal complements would appear to be accompanied by a concomitant decrease in frequency by almost an order of magnitude. While having the unfortunate consequence of the most structurally-complex of these complementation constructions appearing least frequently in the data available for later analysis, this would seem to present an accurate representation of complementation constructions in the language as they are used, and thus arguably of some value in characterizing the linguistic experience of speakers of this language, as well. If the infrequency of these most intricate verbal complementation constructions is typical in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* as a whole, then the ability of speakers to learn the range of acceptable structures in such rare constructions presents an interesting problem in syntactic acquisition. If consistent inter-speaker agreement is indeed noted in the morphosyntactic marking and linear orders of these most complex constructions, despite their seeming infrequency, then it remains to be demonstrated, whether through recourse to other constructional knowledge or to innate principles of syntactic organization, how such consistency is acquired.

Within this section, each of these broad classes of constructions has been given separate attention, with its component constructions divided into constructional schemas on the basis of their formal characteristics. In addition to presenting a tractable level of abstraction to the verbal complementation phenomena encountered in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, such schemas arguably present one means of facilitating cross-linguistic comparison without rendering presentation of the individual constructions comprising each schema impossible. Indeed, each schema within these constructional classes has been described in some detail in the preceding subsections, giving consideration not only to apparent differences in the preferences of each author for linear ordering and verbal collocates within these schemas, but also to the constructions within them, differences in their ordering and in their attestation across authors, genres, and source texts. This analysis has in turn brought attention to recurring questions in the analysis of verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, such as the morphosyntactic status of the *too* infinitival marker and the role of fixed and idiomatic phrases in the prediction of linear order, and suggest areas in which further investigation may be of value.

In addition to these more 'traditional' corpus-based analyses of individual constructions, the statistical methods introduced in section 3.3.1.10 present further means by which regularities in complementation constructions might be identified and studied. The application of generalized linear mixed-effect modelling to the problem of determining which factors influence the selection of either 1-2 or 2-1 order in verb-final two-element finite complementation constructions serves not only to undergird arguments for the relevance of several suspected predictors with statistical evidence, but further revealed unexpectedly significant predictors of this alternation which might otherwise have gone unnoticed. That mixed models might be extended to encompass larger data sets, other authors, and additional linguistic and sociolinguistic factors might be seen to offer further motivation for these and similar methods' adoption in documentary linguistics, offering a flexible means of statistical analysis into which might be brought larger amounts of contextually rich linguistic data than might otherwise be treated adequately by hand.

While the present section has attempted to offer a thorough presentation of verbal complementation phenomena introduced by finite verbs, a number of important classes of complementation constructions introduced by infinitival verbs, as well as several other aspects of verbal complementation closely related to constructions presented in this section (including verb projection raising and *infinitivus-pro-participio* effects) remain to be discussed in detail. These complementation phenomena therefore receive specific attention in the sections which follow.

3.4. INFINITIVAL VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION. The families of verbal complementation constructions reviewed up until this point have concentrated upon instances of complementation introduced by finite verbs, as were presented in the preceding section. While such examples would appear to represent the majority of instances of verbal complementation constructions in the tagged subcorpus, and have therefore with some justification received the degree of attention which has been afforded them, there also exist a smaller set of complementation constructions introduced by infinitival verbs. These appear to be found most commonly as the infinitival complements of a range of complementizers (79a-b) and prepositions (80a-b):

(79) a. *[Daut wudd*$_1$ *nich väl nähmen*$_2$*] /* ***Toom*** *äah* ***moaken***$_1$ ***feehlen***$_2$*,*

it would not much take:INF in.order.to her make:INF feel:INF

[daut se uk wäa wea].

that she also someone was

'[It wouldn't take much] / To make her feel that she was somebody, too.'

(JMF2001: 46)

(79) b. *[Dis' Maun docht daut Jesus wull*$_1$ *de Jesatzen vedoawen*$_2$ *un stald*

this man thought that Jesus wanted the laws ruin:INF and put

ahm dise Froag,] ***om*** *ahm* ***seehnen***$_1$ *aun 'e Enj* ***too kjrieen***$_2$*.*

him this question ~~to him~~ see:inf at the end to get:INF

'[This man thought that Jesus wanted to ruin the laws and asked him this question] to see to entrapping him.' (JMF2006: 107)

(80) a. *[Pilatus docht doa äwa noh, woo he ut dise Sach 'ruutkomen*$_2$

Pilate thought there over to how he out this matter come.out:INF

kunn$_1$*,]* ***ohnen*** *sikj* ***beschuldjen***$_1$ *een o'schuldjen Mensch* ***loten***$_2$

could without REFL incriminate:INF an innocent person let:INF

doot ***moaken***$_3$*.*

dead make:INF

'[Pilate considered how he could avoid the matter] without incriminating

himself (by) having an innocent person killed.' (JMF2006: 129)

(80) b. *[Daut kjand ekj] von noh de Grootellere* ***spazeare***$_2$ ***foahre***$_1$.

that knew I from to the grandparents visit:INF drive:INF

'[I knew that] from going to my grandparents' for a visit.' (RE1972: 93)

(The treatment of *toom* 'in order to' may be somewhat more complicated than the above presentation suggests; its analysis as a complementizer will be revisited below). These two classes of elements introducing infinitival complementation constructions are often difficult to differentiate: the complementizers *toom* 'in order to' and *om* '(in order) to' would appear to have both developed historically from prepositions, and are still attested in prepositional contexts in the tagged subcorpus:

(81) a. ***Toom*** *Tietvedrief deed*$_1$ *wi* ***toom*** *Fensta 'erutkjikjen*$_2$

to.the pastime did we to.the window look.out:INF

'We looked out the window as a pastime.' (JMF1994: 26)

(81) b. *[Daut word goot kjeel aus de Zug derch 'e Jebirj puffad]*

it got good cool as the train through the mountains puffed

un de Room ons ***om*** *'e Uahren weppd.*

and the soot us about the ears rushed

'[It got pretty cool as the train puffed (its way) through the mountains]

and the soot whipped around (past) our ears.' (JMF1994: 42)

Infinitival complementation would not appear limited to contexts introduced by such elements, however. It would seem possible to have sentence-initial infinitival complementation constructions without these elements, serving either to introduce a topic of subsequent commentary, as in (82a), or merely generic actions in which no agent is specified, as in (82b):

(82) a. *[He haud$_1$ aul fluck met ahm spazeat$_2$] /*
he had already often with him visit:PTCP
Un däm nu ***loten$_1$*** *leis* ***derchjleppen$_2$*** */*
and DEM:ACC now let:INF quietly slip.through:INF
[Dit fung ahm doch aul aun too kjneppen]
this started him yet already ADV to knot:INF
'[He had visited with him often] / And now to let him quietly slip away –
[This started to knot (i.e. become unpleasant) for him.]' (JMF2005: 27)

(82) b. *Oppwauschen ooda dän Dag äwa en 'e Rund* ***foahren$_1$ broaken$_2$,***
wash.up:INF or the day over in the circle drive:INF fallow:INF
[jung ooda oolt, 'en jieda eena kaun$_1$ dreemen$_2$.]
young or old a every one can dream:INF
'Doing dishes or driving around in a circle all day fallowing, young or
old – every one can dream.' (JMF2001: 6)

Similar first-status infinitives often serve as a form of infinitival 'imperative',[34] although no instances of infinitival complementation are noted in such constructions in the tagged subcorpus, though this may be due to chance factors of sampling rather than structural or semantic prohibitions on their occurrence. These examples also bear some resemblance to nominalized infinitives, infinitival verbal constructions which may appear with determiners, as in (83), and as the subject of copular constructions.

---

[34] Examples of these 'infinitival imperatives' are not uncommon in the tagged subcorpus, and would often (though not always) appear to serve to introduce suggestions, rather than direct commands, e.g. *Wann eenem en Saskatchewan de Hoot waigpuust,* ***bloos stellstohn'****, doa kjemmt boold wada eena.* 'When your hat blows away in Saskatchewan, just stand still – another one will come soon.' (JMF1994: 17).

(83) *[Eene Sautz jrod noh 'm Schwien schlachten haud$_1$ Fraunz noch]*
one time just after the pig slaughter:INF had Franz yet
ver ***'em schlopen$_2$ gohnen$_1$*** *[reiwe Ruakworscht met Ädikj*
before the sleep:INF go:INF raw smoked.sausage with vinegar
jejäten$_2$ un medden en 'e Nacht een Sack Mehl em Schlop vom
eat:PTCP and middle in the night a sack flour in.the sleep from.the
Bähn 'erauf jedroagt$_2$.]
attic down carry:PTCP
'[One time just after butchering pigs, Franz ate raw smoked sausage with vinegar] before going to sleep [and carried down a sack of flour from the attic in the middle of the night in (his) sleep.]' (JMF2005: 51)

The presence of such constructions raises an interesting possibility for analysis: the free-standing infinitives in infinitival complementation constructions may in fact be nominalized verbal elements, thus accounting for their occurrence with prepositions (which commonly take nominal, rather than verbal, complements) and with complementizers historically derived from prepositions morphologically fused with determiners (e.g. *toom* < *too däm* 'to the'). The ultimately viability of this approach would appear difficult to assess, however, given the paucity of examples of infinitival complementation in such contexts in the tagged subcorpus. If single infinitives appearing in first position might be considered sufficiently similar, however, then examples such as (84) might be taken as tentative evidence that these infinitives are not merely the displaced verbal complements of other constructions. If this example were simply the fronted verbal complement of the passive auxiliary *word* 'was, got', then it might be expected to appear with the third-status morphological marking typical of complements in passive constructions. Since it does not, it may well be the case that this infinitive represents a topological unit in the sentence independent of verbal complementation – the subject of this impersonal passive construction itself.

(84) *Un* ***noh Staudt foahren****, word zasstig Joah trigj nich too foaken*

and to city drive:INF was sixty year back not too often

'And driving to the city didn't happen too often sixty years ago.'

(JMF1994: 26)

Alternatively, it might be suggested that certain constructions (or certain verbs, from the perspective of verb-centred subcategorization restrictions) may simply introduce first-status verbal complements demonstrating syntactic behaviour comparable to (84). In a sense, this suggestion approaches the problem posed by such examples from the observation that these constructions appear to share many of their features with other verbal constructions, such as their ability to take arguments and govern case. That such constructions also appear to share features of nominal constructions, such as the presence of preposed determiners and participation in copular constructions, however, would seem unpredicted on this view. Nominalized infinitive constructions may thus potentially represent a distinct class of constructions, a conclusion which would not appear unexpected typologically for actions functioning as referents, rather than as predicates (cf. Croft 2001: 88). Further systematic data, however, would appear necessary to demonstrate this to be the case.

Alternative analyses might be similarly proposed for the complementizer *toom*, as well. Noting its prevalence in examples such as (79a), it might be speculated that *toom* itself may be a requirement of one of the preceding verbal constructions, in essence representing another morphological marker of infinitives analogous to *too*. While it is possible that individual verbal constructions may introduce *toom* complements, and that these complements in turn contain infinitives, this would not appear to justify the treatment of *toom* as another morphological status of infinitives akin to those seen in section 3.2. Were *toom* to represent a distinct status, then it might be expected to be mutually exclusive with other statuses, as is the case with all other morphological marking of infinitives. Examples such as (85), however, appear to demonstrate that this is not the case, with both first (79a) and second-status (85) complements noted within constructions introduced by *toom*.[35]

(85) *[Wann eena nich haud derch 'em easchta musst]* ***toom*** *noh 'm*
if one not had through the first:ADJ.M had.to in.order.to to the
tweede Himmel ***han-too-kome,*** *[wea mi de Lost toom Wrang*
second heaven to.there-to-come was me the enthusiasm to.the crank

---

[35] The second-status infinitive in (85) would appear to present a further complication for nominalization-based approaches to the analysis of infinitival complementation, in that nominalized infinitives of the kind discussed above typically involve first, not second-status matrix infinitives.

dreihe secha veschorrt.]

turn:INF certainly lose:PTCP

'[If one hadn't had to (go) through the first one] to reach the second heaven, [my enthusiasm for turning the crank would certainly have been lost.]' (RE1972: 51)

The distribution of *toom* aside, it bears emphasizing that infinitival complementation constructions such as these would appear considerably rarer than their finite complementation counterparts. Only 14 examples of infinitival complementation were identified in the tagged subcorpus, although this figure should only be taken to provide a rough notion of their frequency, given that such constructions were found through individual inspection of the non-finite infinitival constructions appearing in the tagged subcorpus, rather than by automatic means. Single-infinitive constructions, by comparison, appear much more frequently in the present corpus, both as the complements of the prepositions and complementizers noted above and as 'free-standing' infinitives appearing in typically nominal contexts and in infinitival imperative constructions. These structurally-simpler constructions may prove valuable in determining the syntactic and semantic characteristics of infinitival constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* in general, though such study would extend beyond the scope of the present study of verbal complementation. Despite their infrequency, infinitival complementation constructions are attested in the tagged subcorpus, and their consideration here, while necessarily limited by the availability of relevant data, may serve to bring further attention to the status of infinitives outside of their more common roles in finite verbal complementation constructions, and thus present additional avenues for future inquiry.

3.5. VERB PROJECTION RAISING. The attention which has been given in the preceding sections to verbal complementation phenomena, both finite and infinitival, has concentrated primarily upon describing the morphosyntactic properties of the verbs involved in complementation constructions, their marking and their linear order. While this emphasis upon the characteristics of verbal elements is arguably justified in the documentation of verbal complementation, it has nevertheless left nominal and other non-verbal elements appearing in such constructions largely out of focus. This situation is doubly unfortunate, in that it prevents both detailed examination of the role of such elements in the prediction of linear order in verbal complementation – it might be hypothesized, for instance, that animacy, definiteness, and adverbial placement, among any number of other non-verbal factors, may be of relevance to the positioning of verbal elements in complementation constructions – and thus potentially introduces a degree of distortion into the picture of verbal complementation which this study aims to present. While certainly not rectifying this situation entirely, the present section seeks to give more vigorous attention to one particular instance in which non-verbal elements appear to enter into direct contact with verbal complementation constructions, namely in instances of *verb projection raising*, where non-verbal elements appear interspersed in final verb clusters.

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, the term 'verb projection raising' itself is not without theoretical associations, suggesting an analysis which derives the presence of non-verbal material in verb clusters through phrase structure movement and adjunction. Alternative analyses of such constructions exist, both within the generative syntactic tradition and elsewhere (cf. Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986). For the purposes of this section, verb projection raising (VPR) is taken to refer to cases in which "non-verbal material appears between the verbs of a cluster" (Wurmbrand 2006: 275), without reference to any particular theory of their derivation. This definition would appear consonant with similar descriptions offered by Zwart (2005: 916) and Kefer & Lejeune (1974), the latter appearing under the label of *Einklammerung* (lit. 'bracketing in', referring here to the verbs which surround non-verbal material in clusters). Thus, on this definition, examples such as (86a) and (86b) would represent instances of VPR in which non-verbal material appears within the final verbal cluster:

(86) a. *[Doa wea aules en dän Goaden] daut ahn daut kunn*$_1$ ***scheen***
there was everything in the garden COMP them it could nice
gohnen$_2$.
'[There was everything in the garden] (such) that it could go well for them.' (JMF2006: 2)

(86) b. *Un wann ekj ditmol nich haud*$_1$ ***noh Junt*** *jefunge*$_2$*, [wea ekj*
and if I this.time not had to you find:PTCP was I
secha dootjefroare.]
certainly freeze.to.death:PTCP
'And if I hadn't found my way to your place this time, [I would have frozen to death for sure.]' (RE1972: 61)

Both of the above examples appear relatively unambiguous: the verb cluster, in both cases appearing in 1-2 order in verb-final contexts, is broken up by intervening adverbial or prepositional material. Not all examples are so clear, however: postposed first and second-status complements of some verbs, for instance, might be viewed as forming a verb cluster in their own right, and their arguments thus not representing VPR material. This is the case in examples (87a) and (87b), where participles introduce postposed verbal complements of both first (87a) and second (87b) status which might be viewed as separate topological syntactic units, and whose non-verbal arguments thus do not 'break up' any verb cluster involving the participle and this postposed complement.

(87) a. *Obraum wea*$_1$ *aul* *'erutjegohn'*$_2$ ***de Pead ver 'em Schläden***
Abram was already go.out:PTCP the horses before the sleigh
spaun'$_3$ *[un he hällt ver 'e Väadäa stell.]*
hitch:INF and he holds before the front.door still
'Abram had already gone out to ' (JMF1994: 48)

(87) b. *[Jakob vetahld sien Onkel] daut he wea*$_1$ *jekomen*$_2$ ***'ne Fruu*** *too seakjen*$_3$.
Jacob told his uncle COMP he was come:PTCP a wife to seek:INF
'[Jacob told his uncle] that he had come to look for a wife.' (JMF2006: 25)

The syntactic status of these postposed verbal complements is of relevance to several other verbal complementation phenomena, including the *infinitivus-pro-participio* constructions discussed in section 3.6. As their membership in the final verb cluster remains open to debate, the non-verbal arguments of such postposed complements are not taken here to present instances of VPR in contexts similar to those of the above examples.

In other contexts, by comparison, it is not the complementation relationship itself which presents difficulties for the assessment of VPR, but rather apparent ambiguities between verb-second and verb-final order. Even in cases where verb-final orders would typically be expected, such as in the constructions introduced by the complementizer *daut* 'that' presented as (88a) and (88b), it is not always immediately apparent whether the construction is in fact verb-final, and the relevant non-verbal material is therefore appearing between elements of the final verb cluster (VPR); or verb-second, in which case no cluster is commonly presumed to exist between the finite verb and its complement (no VPR; cf. section 3.3).

(88) a. *[He lat sikj äwents hearen], daut Mame äah Jebacknis un de*
he lets REFL anyway hear:INF COMP mama her baking and the
scheena Sommaborscht, haft$_1$ ***ahm aul jrindlich*** *jefählt*$_2$
nice *Sommaborscht* has him already thoroughly miss:PTCP
'[He makes known, anyway,] that he has really missed mom's baking and the nice *Sommaborscht* (traditional Russian-Mennonite soup).'
(JMF2001: 75)

(88) b. *[Dan kunn*$_1$ *daut noch meteenmol haustig deiwen*$_2$*] daut wi motten*$_1$
then could it still suddenly quickly thaw:INF COMP we must
dän Kron *aufschruuwen*$_2$.
the tap turn.open:INF
'[It could still suddenly thaw then] (so) that we have to open the tap.'
(JMF1994: 40)

Both of the clauses given above might acceptably appear without their complementizer as verb-second clauses without further syntactic adjustment, underscoring the ambiguity of their finite verb placement. While complementizers such as *daut* and other subordinating conjunctions would most commonly appear to introduce verb-final constructions, this may not always be the case: both coordinate infinitive constructions, such as (89a), and instances of nominal or adverbial topicalization within complement clauses, such as (89b) and (89c), commonly demonstrate placements of finite verbs which would appear more in line with verb-second order, rather than the otherwise expected verb-final placements.[36]

(89) a. [*Taunte Hilbrauntsche kaum 'ruutjerant un säd] daut Mitsch*
Aunt Mrs.Hildebrandt came running.out and said COMP Mary
doljefolle$_2$ *wea*$_1$ *un haud*$_1$ ***sikj däm Alboage*** *jebroake*$_2$.
fall.down:PTCP was and had REFL the elbow break:PTCP
'[Mrs. Hildebrandt came running out and said] that Mary had fallen down and had broken her elbow.' (RE1972: 110-111)

(89) b. *[Ekj säd mi dan] daut soone Städ, aus dit woa*$_1$ ***ekj nie*** *finjen*$_2$
I said me then COMP such.a place as this will I never find:INF
'[I said to myself then] that a place like this I'll never find.' (JMF1994: 30)

---

[36] That topicalization in otherwise verb-final contexts should result in apparent verb-second syntax is not entirely unexpected on the view that verb-second and verb-final orders correspond to some extent with differences in discourse prominence and information structure: topicalization, which commonly serves to render fronted elements more prominent in discourse, would seem somewhat anomalous in verb-final contexts, where information is to be rendered less prominent relative to verb-second constructions in the utterance.

(89) c. *[De Voda spetsd sikj doa noch emma opp] daut een Dag wudd*$_1$

the father anticipated REFL there still always ADV COMP one day would

Hermaun de Foarmerie äwanähmen$_2$.

Herman the farming take.over:INF

'[The father still anticipated] that, one day, Herman would take over the farm.' (JMF2005: 99)

It would not appear possible to distinguish verb-second contexts from verb-final ones in all cases, and thus to separate contexts in which non-verbal material occurs between the elements of a verb cluster (VPR) from contexts in which non-verbal material appears between complements which do not form a verb cluster (non-VPR). However, several criteria *do* occasionally permit verb-final contexts to be distinguished from verb-second ones in potentially ambiguous cases: in verb-final contexts, adverbs (90a), direct objects (90b), and negation (90c) may appear immediately after the subject and before the finite verb, a position not licensed in verb-second contexts:

(90) a. *[Mame wea dolla beduat] daut Hermaun noch emol wudd*$_1$ ***'ne***

mama was more concerned COMP Herman still once would a

schmocke, pienje Kjäakjsche *finjen*$_2$ *[waut ahm väl räakjend.]*

pretty industrious kitchen.maid find:INF REL him much reckoned

'[Mom was more concerned] that Herman would yet find a pretty, hard-working maid [who thought highly of him.]' (JMF2005: 99)

(90) b. *[He gauf jieda eenem 'en Bät Jeld un bestald noch] daut 'se*

he gave each one a bit money and requested yet COMP they
daut nich sullen$_1$ ***onnat*** *vebruken*$_2$.
it.ACC not should improperly use.up:INF
'[He gave each one a little money and said] that they shouldn't use it insensibly.' (JMF1994: 66)

(90) c. *[Nu es de Lied äah Dokta doch nieschiarig un fraigt Traichtmoaka*
now is the people their doctor yet curious and asks chiropractor
Dikj] auf he nich wudd$_1$ ***Tiet*** *haben*$_2$ *fe' een Tauss Tee, [he wudd*$_1$
Dyck whether he not would time have:INF for a cup tee he would
jearn een Bät met ahm nobren$_2$*.]*
eagerly a bit with him chat:INF
'[Now the people's doctor is curious and asks Chiropractor Dyck] if he wouldn't have time for a cup of tea – [he would like to chat with him for a bit.]' (JMF2005: 19)

These criteria prove critical in distinguishing clear examples of VPR from potentially ambiguous ones when working with corpus data. 263 unambiguous instances of VPR have been identified in the tagged subcorpus, with a further 152 ambiguous examples noted; of the unambiguous examples, 94.3% (248) appear in prose and 5.7% (15) in poetry, with significantly fewer examples of VPR appearing in poetry than non-VPR constructions in the corpus ($\chi^2(9.7005) = 0.001842$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.000789$). Some 90.9% (239) examples of VPR appear in the works of JMF, with only 9.1% (24) attested in RE – significantly less representation of the latter author than would be expected in consideration of his representation in all non-VPR constructions (χ^2(7.7863) = 0.005264 (df = 1), Fisher p = 0.003465).

Given the exclusion of two-element complementation constructions appearing in verb-second contexts, the single largest class of complementation constructions found in the tagged subcorpus, from VPR constructions, it is perhaps not surprising to note that the majority of examples of VPR appear in verb-final contexts (218, 82.9%), with only a relatively small number (45, 17.1%) attested in three and four-element verb-second contexts. Moreover, the distribution of these VPR constructions across constructional schemas would not appear to accord in all cases with the distribution of non-VPR constructions across the same schemas: in two-element verb-final constructions, while *Modal – Bare Infinitive* and *Auxiliary – Participle* schemas would appear attested in approximately the same ratios for both VPR and non-VPR constructions, *Lexical – Bare Infinitive* constructions are only half as frequent in VPR, with the overall frequencies of each schema of two-element verb-final VPR constructions differing significantly from the same frequencies for non-VPR constructions (χ^2(7.8573) = 0.04906 (df = 3), Fisher p = 0.04431). Table 3.17 presents the frequency of VPR constructions across constructional schemas and orders for each author in verb-second and verb-final contexts.

Constructional schema	Order	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – IPP	1–2	*(n/a)*	1 (0 / 1)
Auxiliary – Participle	1–2	*(n/a)*	72 (65 / 7)
Lexical – Bare Infinitive	1–2	*(n/a)*	4 (4 / 0)
Modal – Bare Infinitive	1–2	*(n/a)*	109 (105 / 4)
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive	1–2–3	19 (18 / 1)	3 (2 / 1)
	1–3–2	0 (0 / 0)	4 (1 / 3)
Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Infinitive	1–2–3	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Auxiliary – Participle – *Too* Infinitive	1–2–3	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)
Lexical – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1–2–3	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1–2–3	17 (15 / 0)	8 (7 / 1)
	1–3–2	0 (0 / 0)	3 (2 / 1)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle	1–2–3	4 (4 / 0)	3 (3 / 0)
	1–3–2	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)
Modal – Bare Infinitive – *Too* Infinitive	1–2–3	0 (0 / 0)	5 (5 / 0)
	1–3–2	0 (0 / 0)	2 (0 / 2)
Auxiliary – Participle – Bare Inf. – Bare Inf.	1–2–3–4	1 (0 / 1)	0 (0 / 0)
Modal – Bare Inf. – Participle – Bare Inf.	1–2–3–4	1 (1 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)

Table 3.17. Distribution of VPR constructions across constructional schemas and verbal orders in verb-second and verb-final contexts. Each total is followed in parentheses by individual counts for JMF and RE, respectively.

Interestingly, all VPR constructions summarized in the above table appear only in ascending word orders, i.e. 1-2 (186 / 263, 70.7%), 1-2-3 (63, 24%), 1-2-3-4 (3, 1.1%), or 1-3-2 (11, 4.2%), a pattern observed elsewhere in Continental West Germanic by Zwart (2005: 916). Even in the not strictly ascending 1-3-2 order, as found in example (91), VPR material is noted to occur only between the first and second elements, and never between the final two verbs appearing in descending order. The absence of intervening non-verbal material in descending orders is striking, and would appear to suggest that these descending-order clusters may have distributional patterns differing from those of ascending-order verb clusters. In all unambiguous verb-final three-element VPR constructions, such as (92a) and (92b), non-verbal material is found to intervene only between the second and third verbs, and never between the first two.

(91) *[Jesus wuak ahn nich opp,] wann ahm daut uk wudd*$_1$ ***een Troost***
Jesus woke them not up if him it also would a consolation
jewast$_3$ *sennen*$_2$, *[wann dee fe' ahm jewoakt*$_2$ *hauden*$_1$.*]*
be:PTCP be:INF if DEM for him stay.awake:PTCP had
'[Jesus didn't wake them up,] even though it would have been of comfort
to him [if they had stayed awake for him.]' (JMF2006: 123)

(92) a. *[Donn haud*$_1$ *de Wiensche jesaigt*$_2$, *daut wea 'ne onnate Kost,]*
then had the Mrs.Wiens say:PTCP it was an unpleasant fare
wann se sikj bloos emol wudden$_1$ *loten*$_2$ ***jescheit*** *traichtmoaken*$_3$
if they REFL just once would let:INF properly make.right:INF
[dan wudd$_1$ *sikj daut aula schekjen*$_2$.*]*
then would REFL it all fit:INF
'[Then Mrs. Wiens said, that was an unpleasant business;] if they would
just once have themselves made right (i.e. undergo traditional chiropractic
treatment), [then everything would be fine.]' (JMF2005: 96)

(92) b. *[Oba ekj wundad mi doch woo groot soona senne*$_2$ *mucht*$_1$*] dee*
but I wondered REFL still how big such be:INF might REL
utjewossne Maunslied wudd$_1$ *kjenne*$_2$ ***en 'e Hal*** *'nenschlape*$_3$.
grown men would can:INF in the hell drag.into:INF
'[But I still wondered how big one like that might be] that would be able
to drag grown men into hell.' (RE1972: 96)

Unfortunately, little can be said about consistent patterns in the placement of VPR material in four-element constructions, given the scarcity of relevant data. Such patterns in the placement of non-verbal material would appear to represent an area of some syntactic interest, as would the kinds of non-verbal elements which feature in VPR constructions. A description of the range of non-verbal elements attested in VPR constructions would seem desirable, both for the purposes of description and typological comparison. As Wurmbrand (2006: 275) observes, not all varieties of Continental West Germanic permit verb projection raising, and among those that do, variation is noted in the classes of elements which are permissible in such constructions. This is not to suggest that the permitted classes are entirely haphazard cross-linguistically. Wurmbrand suggests that an implicational hierarchy as in (93) may hold between the classes of elements permitted in VPR constructions. That is, if a language permits "'bigger' ... or more 'independent'" (*ibid.*) elements to appear in VPR constructions, then all smaller and less 'independent' elements are predicted to be acceptable or even mandatory, as well.

Implicational hierarchy of VPR material (after Wurmbrand 2006: 275)

(93) Definite Objects > Indefinite Objects, PPs >
Low adverbs, idioms, bare Ns > Separable particles

An overview of the distribution of elements found in VPR constructions for both authors in the tagged subcorpus is given in Table 3.18 below. While the lesser frequency of VPR constructions in RE is evident in this table, the apparent absence of indefinite nouns and separable particles cannot be taken as proof-positive that this hierarchy does not hold: rather, in the case of separable particles, Wurmbrand (2006) would appear to restrict this class to refer to separable verbal prefixes, which always appear affixed to the verb in verb clusters in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* and thus, on Wurmbrand's view, participate obligatorily in verb projection raising.[37] The category called separable particles here, in contrast, refers to prepositions separated from a base *doa* 'there' or *wua* 'where' adverb which appear within the verb cluster, as in (94a) and (94b):

Author	Definite Noun	Qualified Noun	Indefinite Noun	Prep. Phrase	Adverb	Bare Noun	Separable Particle
JMF	64	18	27	73	53	44	10
RE	6	4	0	18	7	4	0

Table 3.18. Distribution of VPR material in the tagged subcorpus by author and class.

(94) a. *[Josef luad] waut se* ***doa*** *wudden*$_1$ ***too*** *saijen*$_2$.

Joseph waited what they there would to say:INF

'Joseph waited (to hear) what they would say about that.' (JMF2006: 34)

(94) b. *Daut Zeig* ***wua*** *se dän Kjarpa hauden*$_1$ ***met*** *enjerollt*$_2$ *lag doa,*

the cloth where they the body had with roll.in:PTCP lay there

[oba de Kjarpa wea nich doa.]

but the body was not there

'The cloth with which they had rolled up the body lay there, [but the body was not there.]' (JMF2006: 135)

---

[37] That is, separable verbal prefixes in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* cannot appear outside of the verb cluster, separated from their base, much as in Standard German (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 276), e.g. *[Wann daut wea, wudden miene Soldoten mi haben bewoaht,] daut dise Menschen mi nich* ***{*faust}*** *hauden kunnt* ***faust**nähmen*. 'If that were so, my soldiers would have protected me, so that these people would not have been able to arrest me.' (JMF2006: 127); [*De easchte Himmel] bi däm se mi* ***{*'nen}*** *haud uagenblecklich* ***'nen**kjikje lote [wea dee wua Eiskriem jemoakt word.]* '[The first heaven] intro which she had momentary let me look [was the one where ice cream was made.]' (RE1972: 49).

Among the classes of bare nouns in VPR constructions, some would appear phrasally related to the verb which introduces them (e.g. *Koffe drinkjen* 'drink coffee', *O'ndkos' moaken* 'make supper', *Tax tohlen* 'pay taxes'), more rarely including with abstract nouns which might be seen as idioms (e.g. *Tiet haben* 'have time'), though most would appear essentially compositional in meaning with their associated verb and freely substitutable with other nouns, as in the examples below.

(95) a. *[Nie opp 'e Welt wea*$_1$ *ahm daut enjekomen*$_2$*] daut he morjen*

never on the world was him it come.in:PTCP COMP he tomorrow

auleen wudd$_1$ ***Veeh*** *besorjen*$_2$.

alone would cattle take.care.of:INF

'[Never on earth had it occurred to him] that he would have to take care of the cattle alone tomorrow.' (JMF2006: 16)

(95) b. *Wann doa bloos mucht*$_1$ ***Licht*** *too seehne*$_3$ *senne*$_2$.

if there just might light to see:INF be:INF

'If only there might be light visible...' (RE1972: 57)

Similarly, the classes of adverbs noted in VPR constructions would not appear necessarily restricted to frequent adverbial collocates or fixed phrases – examples (96a) and (96b), for instance, both contain relatively low-frequency adverbs, with *mässig* 'slowly, moderately' appearing only five times in the tagged subcorpus, and *eendraichtig* 'steadily, continuously' only seven times – though such are certainly attested as well. Phrases such as *scheen gohnen* 'to go well; to enjoy', *dietlich moaken* 'to make clear, explain', and *reed moaken* 'to make ready, prepare' are attested to occur here with their adverbial elements inside of the verbal cluster, as are 'copular' phrases such as *sikj bäta feehlen* 'to feel better' or *drieeg sennen* 'to be dry' and idioms such as *eenem goot sennen* 'to love someone; to embrace someone (lit. 'be good to someone')' and *eenem tooschekj halpen* 'to help someone out of a difficult situation'.

(96) a. *Un aus ekj wada jetreest aum Wrang dreihe een Stoot haud*$_1$
and as I again consoled at.the crank turn:INF a while had
eendraichtig *metjeholpe*$_2$, *[säd Jeat meteenst: "Waut Schinda*
steadily help.with:PTCP said George suddenly what skinner
laikjt de vedolltje Ama?"]
leaks the darn pail
'And as I, once again consoled, helped steadily turn the crank for a while,
[George suddenly said: "What the devil is the darn pail leaking for?"]'
(RE1972: 53)

(96) b. *[Jeat wescht sikj dän Schweet vom Stearn un saigt too*
George wipes REFL the sweat from.the forehead and says to
Kjemmadi,] ji woaren$_1$ *secha motten*$_2$ ***mässig*** *foahren*$_3$ *[sest*
Kjemmadi you will certainly must:INF moderately drive:INF otherwise
hoolen de Speakjen daut nich ut.]
hold the spokes it not out
'[George wipes the sweat from his forehead and says to Kjemmadi,]
"You'll certainly have to drive slowly, [otherwise the spokes won't take

it.]' (JMF2005: 78)

Prepositional phrases represent both the most common and perhaps the most diverse category of VPR material in the tagged subcorpus: while some idiomatic prepositional collocates are noted (e.g. *en'e Flanken kjrieen* 'to get working, to get under control', *toom Gloowen komen* 'to come to believe, to accept religious beliefs'), most prepositional phrases would appear less collocationally restricted, encompassing a range of pronominal and nominal material which is subsequently incorporated into the verb cluster in VPR.

(97) a. *[Daniel fruag dän Kjeenig] auf he siene Frind uk wudd*$_1$ ***met ahm***

Daniel asked the king whether he his friends also would with him

aun 'e Oabeit *stalen*$_2$ *[un he deed daut.]*

on the work place:INF and he did that

'[Daniel asked the king] if he would also appoint his friends to work with him [and he did that.]' (JMF2006: 81)

(97) b. *[Jesus befoohl] daut de Menschen sikj aula sullen*$_1$ ***en kjliene***

Jesus commanded COMP the people REFL all should in small

Gruppen, opp 'em Graus *dolsaten*$_2$.

groups on the grass sit.down:INF

'[Jesus commaneded] that the people should all sit down in small groups on the grass.' (JMF2006: 105)

Finally, both definite and indefinite nouns are attested in VPR, as are qualified nouns (i.e. nouns preceded either by a possessive pronoun, as in (98a), or by an adjective), although indefinite nouns are only attested for JMF. In the case of indefinite nominals, qualifiers are occasionally also present, as in (98b), or may involve the indefinite pronoun *waut* 'something'. Definite nominals may also include qualifiers (e.g. *de gaunze Wirtschoft* 'the whole farm'), though this is not always the case, as (98c) demonstrates.

(98) a. *Wann wi Mennoniten bloos nich muchten*$_1$ ***ons Kultua*** *vesiemen*$_2$

if we Mennonites just not might our culture neglect:INF

[un noch aunfangen$_2$ *too lonschen*$_3$ *en 'e Städ Vaspa äten.]*

and still begin:INF to lunch:INF in the place *Vaspa* eat:INF

'If only we Mennonites might not neglect our culture [and start to have lunch instead of eating *Vaspa* [traditional light afternoon meal].' (JMF2001: 2)

(98) b. *[Een Dag aus ekj noh miene Faulen kjeem, sag ekj] doa musst*$_1$

one day as I to my traps came saw I there had.to

senn'$_2$ ***'en groota Kjrigg*** *jewast*$_3$.

be:INF a big war be:PTCP

'[One day as I came to my traps, I saw (that)] there must have been a big big war.' (JMF1994: 53)

(98) c. *Wann ekj bloos kunn*$_1$ ***de Faul*** *opmoaken*$_2$.

if I just could the trap open:INF

'If only I could open the trap.' (JMF2005: 64)

VPR in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* would thus appear to occupy a similar position in the implicational hierarchy proposed by Wurmbrand (2006) as Swiss German, in which all forms of non-verbal material identified in the hierarchy are reported to be possible in

VPR constructions, and separable verbal prefixes obligatory (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 275). Although limited attestation of VPR in RE leaves some question as to the applicability of this hierarchy to this variety, it would appear to hold for JMF, where all forms of VPR material are noted.

While this overview presents some notion of the range of licit examples of VPR found in the corpus, what still remains to be provided is a perspicuous account of the conditions under which VPR is employed. Given that alternative placements of non-verbal material are often possible (and, indeed, in many cases, even typical) in VPR constructions, it would seem reasonable to hypothesize that the incorporation of non-verbal material into the verb cluster is other than wholly random and may subserve particular linguistic functions. Kefer & Lejeune (1974) propose prosody as one factor of possible relevance to the acceptability of VPR constructions, with non-verbal material receiving sentence accent being incorporated more often into the verb cluster than unstressed material, effectively reducing the number of unstressed syllables after the final stressed element. More important than this, however, these authors suggest, is the "syntactic or semantic affinity between sentence element and verb" (Kefer & Lejeune: 332)[38]: those elements which stand in "such close association to the verb that they form an idiomatic expression" (331), Kefer & Lejeune note for Standard German, are precisely those which are most easily incorporated into the verb cluster. While these authors do not claim this to be the only relevant factor in licensing VPR, their proposal is both intriguing and broadly in keeping with the complementary observation of Wurmbrand

---

[38] "Der wichtigste Faktor ist wahrscheinlich die syntaktische oder semantische Affinität zwischen Satzglied und Verb" (Kefer & Lejeune: 332).

(2006: 275) that larger, more 'independent' sentence elements are on the whole less likely to appear inside the verb cluster.

If such 'syntactic or semantic affinities' indeed represent salient predictors of licit occurrences of VPR, then one might expect these affinities to be reflected in quantitative measures of collocational strength, as well. That is, the idiomaticity and syntactic and semantic closeness between sentence element and verb to which Kefer & Lejeune (1974) ascribe primary importance in determining the acceptability of VPR should logically be evidenced in patterns of coocurrence between these elements throughout the corpus, as well, thus opening this hypothesis to quantitative testing. If syntactic or semantic affinity is indeed a relevant predictor of VPR, then measures of collocational strength between the verb and VPR-incorporated material should be significantly higher than similar measures for such material appearing outside of the verb cluster.[39] This comparison must ultimately be left as a task for future research, however, given the scope of the present study and the lack of lemmatization in the present corpus, without which retrieval of all relevant inflected forms of the verbal and non-verbal collocates would be greatly impeded.

In sum, verb projection raising in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* would appear to encompass the incorporation of a considerable range of non-verbal material into final verb clusters, including not only the typologically more prevalent separable prefixes, adverbs, and idioms, but also indefinite objects, prepositional phrases, and definite objects. These phenomena in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* present problems of interest not only for the description of possible syntactic constructions in this language, bringing attention to occasional ambiguities in verb-second and verb-final order in complementizer-introduced constructions, but also potentially for quantitative analyses of the relationship between collocational strength and syntactic structure, in this language and in others sharing similar constructional alternations.

---

[39] Likewise, the collocational strength existing between non-verbal elements and their corresponding verbs should, on this hypothesis, emerge as a significant predictor of the acceptability of 'incorporated' placements of this non-verbal material.

3.6. INFINITIVUS-PRO-PARTICIPIO. Having discussed verb projection raising phenomena, our attention now turns to *infinitivus-pro-participio* (or, in the German grammatical tradition, *Ersatzinfinitiv*) constructions. *Infinitivus-pro-participio* (henceforth IPP) constructions refer generally to contexts in which a verbal complement is expected to be realized in participial form (i.e. in third status), but instead appears as a bare infinitive (i.e. in first status). While not common to all Continental West Germanic languages, IPP constructions are nevertheless well attested within this language group, and, in some languages, are grammatically required:

(99) *S hät*$_1$ ***aafange***$_2$ *tunere*$_3$
it has start:IPP thunder:INF
'It's started to thunder' (Zürich German; Lötscher 1978: 3)

(100) *Er hät*$_1$ *niemed* ***welle***$_2$ *in Angst bringe*$_3$
he has no.one want:IPP in fear bring:inf
'He didn't want to frighten anyone.' (Allemanic: Lötscher 1978: 22)

(101) a. *dat Jan het boek heeft*$_1$ ***kunnen***$_2$ *lezen*$_3$

that Jan the book has can:IPP read:INF

'that Jan has been able to read the book' (Dutch; Wurmbrand 2004: 46)

(101) b.**dat Jan het boek heeft*$_1$ ***gekund***$_2$ *lezen*$_3$

that Jan the book has can:PTCP read:INF

'that Jan has been able to read the book' (Dutch; Wurmbrand 2004: 46)

As was noted in section 3.2, IPP effects are only noted in the present corpus to be introduced by *haben* 'have' and *sennen* 'be' in their capacity as auxiliaries in the perfective construction, which governs third-status complements. Since IPP constructions were identified and coded as such while reviewing all instances of verbal complementation attested in the tagged subcorpus, few technical barriers exist which might prevent their consideration here. A search for these coded IPP constructions returned 95 instances in 93 sentences, with these examples demonstrating no strong association with either author (χ^2(0.4267) = 0.5136 (df = 1), Fisher p = 0.4779), either genre (χ^2(0.0035) = 0.9529 (df = 1), Fisher p = 1), or any particular corpus document (χ^2(8.0381) = 0.09019 (df = 4), Fisher p = 0.09571). This would appear to suggest that IPP constructions are a common feature at least of the varieties represented by JMF and RE, and are not restricted to a particular written text type. The majority of these IPP constructions are introduced by *haben* (83, 89.3%), rather than *sennen* (10, 10.6%), a statistically-significant difference when compared to occurrences of *haben* and *sennen* in non-IPP perfective constructions elsewhere in the tagged subcorpus (χ^2(8.4783) = 0.003594 (df = 1), Fisher p = 0.001530). Thus, such IPP constructions would appear to have several of the hallmarks of a distinct construction in Mennonite Low German, one with some apparent currency in the represented varieties of the language. Corpus examples might be cited which resemble the IPP bare infinitives encountered in other Continental West Germanic languages:

(102) a. *Haud*$_1$ *dit nich* ***gohnen***$_2$ *väatoobeajen*$_3$*, denkjt he soo.*

had this not go:IPP prevent.INF thinks he so

'"Couldn't this have been prevented?", he thinks.' (JMF2001: 42)

(102) b. *Reima haud*$_1$ *dän Schuft* ***seehnen***$_2$ *utkjniepen*$_3$ *[un he saigt gaunz*

Reimer had the scoundrel see:IPP take.off:INF and he says entirely

narwees, daut es de whatchamacallem, weet 'ji dän Piepschmeakja

nervous that is the whatchamacallem knw you the pipe.smoker

sien Hund.]

his dog

'[Reimer had seen the scoundrel taking off [and he says, all agitated: "That's the whatchamacallem, you know, the pipe smoker's dog."]' (JMF2005: 25)

(102) c. *[De easchte Himmel] bi däm se mi haud*$_1$ *uagenblecklich*

the first heaven by REL she me had momentarily

'nenkjikje$_3$ ***lote***$_2$ *[wea dee wua Eiskriem jemoakt*$_2$ *word*$_1$*.]*

look.in:INF let:IPP was DEM where ice.cream make:PTCP was

'[The first heaven] into which she had allowed me to look momentarily [was the one where ice cream was made.]' (RE1972: 49)

However, such examples would appear to be in the minority: only 19 instances (20%)

which might be construed as bare infinitives are found in the tagged subcorpus, all involving forms of the verbs *gohnen* 'go', *loten* 'let', and *seehnen* 'see'. The majority of verbs in these examples demonstrate distinct morphological marking sooner resembling participial forms without their *je-* perfective prefix:[40]

(103) a. *Dissen Dag ha'$_1$ ekj emol sooraicht* ***leaht$_2$*** *jeduldig sennen$_3$.*
this day have I once really learn:IPP patient be:INF
'(On) this day I really learned to be patient.' (JMF1994: 58)

(103) b. *[He meend,] ekj haud$_1$ jewess* ***sullt$_2$*** *bäta weeten$_3$.*
he opined I had certainly shall:IPP better know:INF
'He said, “I certainly should have known better.”' (JMF2005: 16)

(103) c. *[Un soo kaum 'et eenes Doages daut he aum oole Jeatze, sien*
and so came it one day COMP he at.the old Goertzen his
Schwiavoda, 'naunjeruckst$_2$ wea$_1$] aus he däm Oola eenmol
father.in.law move.towards:PTCP was as he the old.man once
haud$_1$ ***wullt$_2$*** *dietlich moake$_3$ waut fer 'en Noa he sooraicht wea,*
had want:IPP clear make:INF what for a fool he really was

---

[40] A possible exception is *aunfangen* 'begin', which appears in several IPP constructions as *aunfangt* in the works of JMF, e.g. *Jesus haud$_1$ noch nich* ***aunfangt$_2$*** *too prädjen$_3$ [aus he noh 'm Riefa jingj un sikj von Johanes deepen leet.]* 'Jesus had not yet begun to preach [when he went to the river and was baptised by John.]' (JMF2006: 99). Although the participial form *aunjefunge* is attested several times in RE, no instances of *aunfangen* in non-IPP perfective constructions are found in JMF, leaving it unclear whether or not *aunfangt* is indeed a regular IPP form (i.e. one derived from *aunjefangt*, if this, rather than *aunjefungen*, is the participial form of *aunfangen* for JMF).

aus Foarma.

as farmer

'[And so it happened one day that he came at old Goertzen, his father in law, wanting to make it clear to the old man what a fool he (i.e. Goertzen) really was as a farmer. (RE1972: 46)

Table 3.19 summarizes the range of verbs which appear in IPP constructions in the tagged subcorpus, noting the frequency of both their IPP and participial forms in the works of both authors. Several observations might be made concerning these data. First, it would appear that IPP forms are dominated by modal verbs, and in particular forms of *kjennen* 'can', *sellen* 'shall', and *motten* 'must', although the causative *loten* 'let, have' would appear to be common, as well. It might further be noted that that the 'bare infinitives' cited in (102a-c) involve precisely those verbs whose participial forms contain the infinitive in them (i.e. strong verbs without ablaut). Thus, it might be argued that these 'bare infinitival' IPP forms may be analyzed instead as participial forms lacking their characteristic *je-* prefix: this would render them analogous to all other IPP forms (*aunfangt* notwithstanding), which appear to be related similarly to their corresponding participles where such are noted.[41]

---

[41] For several IPP verbs, including the modals *derwen* 'may', *kjennen* 'can', *motten* 'must', *sellen* 'shall', *wellen* 'want', as well as *metmoaken* 'participate', no equivalent participial forms are observed in the tagged subcorpus. This apparent gap may in fact be coincidental, either due to the frequency of the verbs involved (*metmoaken*, for instance, is attested only twice in the entire tagged subcorpus, and only once in an apparently exceptional IPP perfective construction appearing in rhymed verse) or of their participation in constructions which would require non-IPP participial forms (as in the case of modals, which rarely occur in perfective constructions without complement lexical verbs). This should not be

Verb	IPP Form	#	Participial Form	#
aunfangen 'begin'	*aunfangt*	3 (3 / 0)	*aunjefungen*	3 (0 / 3)
bruken 'use, need'	*brukt*	2 (2 / 0)	*jebrukt*	13 (0 / 1)
derwen 'may'	*durft*	1 (1 / 0)	*(je)durft*	0 (0 / 0)
gohnen 'go'	*gohnen*	3 (3 / 0)	*jegohnen*	15 (15 / 0)
halpen 'help'	*holpen*	1 (1 / 0)	*jeholpen*	7 (6 / 1)
hearen 'hear'	*heat*	5 (5 / 0)	*jeheat*	27 (19 / 8)
kjennen 'can'	*kunnt*	26 (23 / 3)	*(je)kunnt*	0 (0 / 0)
leahren 'learn'	*leaht*	2 (2 / 0)	*jeleaht*	23 (20 / 3)
loten 'let'	*loten*	14 (11 / 3)	*jeloten*	2 (1 / 1)
metmoaken 'participate'	*metmoakt*	1 (0 / 1)	*metjemoakt*	0 (0 / 0)
motten 'must'	*musst*	10 (0 / 2)	*(je)musst*	0 (0 / 0)
seehnen 'see'	*seehnen*	2 (2 / 0)	*jeseehnen*	17 (16 / 1)
sellen 'shall'	*sullt*	15 (15 / 0)	*(je)sullt*	0 (0 / 0)
wellen 'want'	*wullt*	3 (1 / 2)	*(je)wullt*	0 (0 / 0)
woaren 'be' (passive aux.)	*worden*	7 (5 / 2)	*jeworden*	20 (12 / 8)

Table 3.19. IPP and participial forms of all IPP verbs appearing in the tagged subcorpus. Counts are given for both authors and, in parentheses, for JMF and RE individually.

If all such 'bare-infinitival' IPP forms may thus be related to their corresponding participial forms, as would seem to be the case with essentially all other IPP verbs, then it would appear reasonable to ask to what extent such examples constitute instances of IPP proper. Indeed, no other examples of bare infinitives appearing as complements of *haben* 'have' or *sennen* 'be' in perfective constructions are found in the tagged subcorpus. If the above-cited instances of IPP with non-ablaut strong verbs are seen as being morphologically related to corresponding participial forms, and only *resemble* bare infinitives, then no cases of infinitive-for-participle substitution are noted in the entire

---

taken to suggest that it is impossible for such verbs to lack participial forms distinct from the attested IPP forms; it may indeed be the case that several of these verbs have only IPP forms, even in perfective constructions, although this would appear difficult, if not impossible to demonstrate on the basis of the present corpus data alone.

tagged subcorpus.[42] Even if no infinitival substitution is noted, however, such 'pseudo-IPP' constructions would appear to represent an important and distinct class of verbal complementation phenomena in Mennonite Low German, thus meriting further attention. While the remainder of this section continues to refer to these constructions as IPP for the sake of consistency, it should be borne in mind that the morphologically-distinct participial forms studied here would not, at least on the above analysis, appear to involve the infinitival substitution which characterizes IPP in many other varieties of Continental West Germanic.

While the classes of verbs attested to have distinct IPP forms would appear relatively circumscribed, characterized by modal verbs and a limited set of lexical (mostly causative, inchoative, or perception) verbs, there would not seem to be any apparent bounds on the class of verbs which may appear as complements in such IPP constructions. 72 distinct verbs are attested as complements in the 93 example sentences, with only four verbs appearing as complements more than twice (i.e. *seehnen* 'see' (8), *weeten* 'know' (4), *hearen* 'hear' (3), *räden* 'talk' (3)). The most frequent of these, *seehnen* 'see', appears to owe much of its frequency to its participation in the fixed phrase *daut haud Ji sullt seehn'* 'you should've seen it', which makes up seven of the eight attested instances, all in JMF; while *weeten* 'know' is represented in two phrases, *eenem*

---

[42] The absence of infinitive-for-participle substitution in the present corpus should not be taken to imply that IPP constructions are necessarily impossible in Mennonite Low German: Zwart (2007: 81) offers an example of IPP in Altai Mennonite Low German, taken from Jedig (1969), which would appear to suggest that such constructions, while unattested in the present sample, may indeed be acceptable for some speakers.

waut weeten loten 'to let someone know something' (always appearing with *weeten* before *loten* in these examples), and *X haud sullt bäta weeten* 'X should have known better', both attested only in JMF. Likewise, *hearen* 'hear' appears as a complement in IPP constructions only in perfective forms of the phrase *sikj hearen loten* 'to make oneself heard' in JMF; of these most frequent complements, only *räden* would appear not to participate in any set of fixed phrases exclusively. The remaining 68 complement verbs are semantically diverse (e.g. *prädjen* 'preach', *utschluuwen* 'outdo', *plekjen* 'pick (plants)', *zinjren* 'tingle'), with no single semantic class apparent among them, suggesting IPP constructions to be relatively open in the range verbs they accept.

With respect to status government, the overwhelming majority of IPP verb forms in the tagged subcorpus (82, 88.2%) introduce complements in first status (i.e. bare infinitives), as in (104a). While this itself is not surprising, given that most IPP verb forms are themselves modal and thus govern first status almost without exception, it is worth noting that complements also appear in second (4, 4.3%) and third (7, 7.5%) status, as in (104b) and (104c), respectively. Second-status complements are introduced here by *aunfangen* 'begin' and *gohnen* 'go', while third-status complements are found exclusively with *woaren* 'be (passive auxiliary)'. On the whole, however, the status government patterns of these IPP forms would not appear to represent any significant departure from the general patterns noted in Table 3.2, suggesting that IPP constructions themselves make no particular requirements on the status of IPP verb complements.

First-status IPP complements

(104) a. *Dän Joaschtenpripps ha'$_1$ ji ohnen Twiewel kunnt$_2$ 'ne Miel auf*
the barley.*Pripps* have you without doubt can:IPP a mile off
rikjen$_3$
smell:INF
'The barley *Pripps* (roasted grain beverage) you could no doubt smell
from a mile away.' (JMF2005: verso)

Second-status IPP complements

(104) b. *Jesus haud$_1$ noch nich aunfangt$_2$* ***too prädjen$_3$*** *[aus he noh 'm Riefa*
Jesus had yet not start:IPP to preach:INF as he to the river
jingj un sikj von Johanes deepen$_2$ leet$_1$.]
went and REFL by John baptise:INF let
'Jesus had not yet begun to preach [when he went to the river and was
baptised by John.]' (JMF2006: 99)

Third-status IPP complements

(104) c. *[Aus he utjeläse$_2$ haud$_1$ säd he too mi:] "Derch dise Aunkloag*
as he read.to.end:PTCP had said he to me through this charge
best$_1$ du ver 'em Jerecht ***jebrocht$_3$*** *worde$_2$.*
are you before the court bring:PTCP be:IPP
'[Once he had finished reading, he said to me:] "You have been brought
before the court because of this charge."' (RE1972: 88)

IPP constructions would appear to be distributed across several constructional schemas, as detailed in Table 3.20, with most appearing in three-element schemas, and in particular in configurations involving a perfective auxiliary, an IPP verb, and a bare infinitive. Examples of participial and *too*-infinitival complementation in these three-element schemas have already been seen; the two instances of two-element IPP constructions would appear to comprise an elided motion construction (105a) and the somewhat exceptional example with *metmoaken* 'participate' (105b):

(105) a. *Wann eena nich* ***haud***$_1$ *derch 'em easchta* ***musst***$_2$ *[toom noh 'm*
if one not had through the first.M must:IPP in.order.to to the
tweede Himmel han-too-kome, wea mi de Lost toom Wrang
second heaven thither-to-come:INF was me the enthusiasm to.the crank
dreihe secha veschorrt.]
turn:INF certainly lose:PTCP
'If one hadn't needed to (go) through the first one to get to the second heaven, my enthusiasm for turning the crank would certainly have been lost.' (RE1972: 51)

(105) b. *[Woo 'ne Fruu sikj well*$_1$ *vestalle*$_2$ */ Wan se niee Schooh sikj kjaft /*
how a woman REFL wants pretend:INF when she new shoes REFL buys
Weet een Maun] dee daut Aunpausse / Gaunz onschuldig
knows a man REL the try.on:INF entirely innocent
metmoakt$_2$ *haft*$_1$*.*
participate:IPP has
"[How a woman tries to disguise herself / When she buys herself new

shoes / Is something a man knows] who has innocently participated in trying on (shoes).' (RE1972: 35)[43]

Constructional Schema	#
Auxiliary – IPP	2
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive	77
Auxiliary – IPP – Participle	7
Auxiliary – IPP – *Too* Infinitive	4
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Participle	2
Modal – Bare Infinitive – IPP – Bare Infinitive	2

Table 3.20. Distribution of IPP constructions across constructional schemas in the tagged subcorpus.

The four-element IPP constructions are similarly restricted to a single author, though in this case to JMF. The corpus examples of the two categories of auxiliary-introduced four-element IPP constructions are given below in (106a) and (106b), in both cases essentially representing perfective constructions in which the complement of the IPP verb takes a complement itself.

Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive

(106) a. *(...) de Schwiamutta* ***haud***$_1$ *ahr eascht emol ut 'em Grund* ***musst***$_2$
the mother.in.law had her first once out the foundation must:IPP
leahren$_3$ ***backen***$_4$ *[daut de vedorwna Jeat weens toofräd word] (...)*
teach:INF bake:INF COMP the spoiled George at.least content became
'The mother-in-law first had to teach her from square one (how) to bake

---

[43] It would seem probable that this example is not IPP *per se*, but rather an instance where the perfective *je-* was dropped from *metjemoakt* 'participated' in order to match the poetic form of the previous verse. Without this adjustment, the final line would have one syllable more than its rhyming counterpart, thus breaking the established meter.

[(so) that spoiled George was at least happy.]' (JMF2005: 80)

Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive - Participle

(106) b. *Judas meend, "de Saulw-eelj* ***haud$_1$ kunnt$_2$ vekofft$_4$ woaren$_3$*** *fe' 300*

Judas opined the salve-oil had can:IPP sell:PTCP be:INF for 300

Selwagroschen un daut Jeld too de Oame ***jejäwt$_4$."***

silver.pieces and the money to the poor.PL give.PTCP

'Judas said, "The salve could have been sold for three hundred silver pieces and the money given to the poor.' (JMF2006: 117)

Likewise, the two examples of four-element IPP constructions present in the corpus both appear to represent perfective constructions introduced by a modal verb, and thus adhere to the general pattern for IPP constructions involving three verbal complements:

Modal – Bare Infinitive – IPP – Bare Infinitive

(106) c. *[Ooda wann doa too de Tiet wea$_1$ 'eǹ McDonalds Restauraunt jewast$_2$,]*

or if there to the time was a McDonald's restaurant be:PTCP

dee ***wudden$_1$ ha'n$_2$ kunnt$_3$*** *billig Koffe* ***drinkjen$_4$.***

DEM would have can:IPP cheap coffee drink:INF

'[Or if there had been a McDonald's restaurant at the time, they would have been able to drink coffee for cheap.' (JMF1994: 42)

(106) d. *Siene Mame* ***wudd$_1$*** *aul 'ne maunche Nacht nich* ***haben$_2$ kunnt$_3$***

his mama would already a many night not have:INF can:IPP

schlopen$_4$ *[wiel he haud$_1$ ahr en de gaunze Tiet nich een Breef*

sleep:INF because he had her in the entire time not a letter *jeschräwen*$_2$*]*

write:PTCP

'His mom wouldn't have been able to sleep many a night [because he hadn't written her one single letter the entire time.]' (JMF2005: 21)

In short, despite variation in the number of verbal complements which may be present in IPP constructions, the dominant pattern for such constructions would nevertheless appear to be three-element perfective constructions, even when introduced by another modal verb, as in (106c-d) above; followed by another verbal complement, as in (106a-b); or having an implied though unexpressed final complement verb, as in the elided motion construction of (105a).

Having a clearer picture of the verbal classes which appear as constituents in IPP constructions, attention might also be given to the linear orders in which these verbal elements occur. Table 3.21 presents an overview of the verbal complement orders attested in IPP constructions in the tagged subcorpus. Among other patterns, this table brings to light the preponderance of 1-2-3 and, to a lesser extent, 1-3-2 orders in IPP constructions. It would seem that IPP verbs overwhelmingly follow, rather than precede, their matrix verbs for both authors, with exceptions noted only in two examples (i.e. those having 2-1 and 3-2-1 orders). The orders in which the complements of IPP verbs themselves appear, however, would seem to be another matter altogether. For JMF, the complements of IPP verbs appear predominantly to the right, significantly more often than in other three-element verbal constructions ($\chi^2(8.188) = 0.004217$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.002814$). For RE, by comparison, most such complements (7, 70%) appear to the left of the IPP matrix verb, though this is statistically no more often the case than in other three-element verbal constructions ($\chi^2(0.7114) = 0.399$ (df = 1), Fisher $p = 0.3173$). With only ten instances of three-element IPP constructions in RE, however, it may be premature to conclude that any significant difference exists between the two authors regarding the placement of IPP complements, these statistical results notwithstanding.

Having reviewed the orders 1-2 and 2-1 in (105a) and (105b), respectively, and with four-element verbal clusters appearing to pattern as in (106a-d), only the orders attested for three-element constructions remain to be considered here. The least common of these orders, 3-2-1, appears only once in the IPP constructions in the tagged subcorpus, representing a passive construction:

(107) a. *[Wi kjennen*$_1$ *läsen*$_2$ *daut Plautdietsch 'ne oole Sproak es] un aul*
we can read:INF COMP *Plautdietsch* a old language is and already
lang en 'e Weltjeschaft ***jebrukt***$_3$ ***worden***$_2$ ***es***$_1$*, [ea Huagdietsch*
long in the world.business use:PTCP be:IPP is before High.German
ooda Enjelsch em Schwung jekomen$_2$ *send*$_1$ *un äwanohmen*$_2$ *ha'n*$_1$*.]*
or English in.the momentum come:PTCP are and take.over:PTCP have
'[We can read that *Plautdietsch* is an old language] and had already been used in global commerce for a long time [before High German or English gained momentum and took over.] ' (JMF1994: 2)

Another six instances of passive constructions are noted among the three-element IPP constructions, though these are exclusively of 1-3-2 order, as in (13b), (104c), or (107b) below. (No passive constructions are noted in 1-2-3 order in the tagged subcorpus).

Verbal complement order	V_2	V_{Final}	Total
1 – 2	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)	1 (0 / 1)
2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	1 (0 / 1)	1 (0 / 1)
1 – 2 – 3	54 (52 / 2)	15 (14 / 1)	69 (66 / 3)
1 – 3 – 2	10 (8 / 2)	8 (3 / 5)	11 (11 / 7)
3 – 2 – 1	0 (0 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)	1 (1 / 0)
1 – 2 – 3 – 4	3 (3 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	3 (3 / 0)
1 – 2 – 4 – 3	2 (2 / 0)	0 (0 / 0)	2 (2 / 0)

Table 3.21. Verbal complement orders across IPP constructions in the tagged subcorpus. Counts are given in each column of occurrences in verb-second, verb-final, and both constructions; for each such construction, totals for both authors are given first, followed in parentheses by counts for JMF and RE, respectively.

(107) b. *Doa* ***es***$_1$ *met de Joahren väl Holt ut dise Jäajend* ***'erutjeschlapt***$_3$

there is with the years much wood out this region haul.out:PTCP

worden$_2$.

be:IPP

'There has been a lot of wood hauled out of this region over the years.'

(JMF2005: 90)

Of the remaining twelve examples of 1-3-2 order, nine involve the IPP verb *loten* 'let', with five representing instances either of *sikj hearen loten* 'to make oneself heard' or of *eenem waut weeten loten* 'to let someone know something'. The remaining examples appear more varied, and are not restricted to fixed phrases such as these.

(108) c. *[Dän Kjeenig en Ägipten wea daut fuats leed]*

the king in Egypt was it immediately sorry

daut he daut Volkj ***haud***$_1$ ***gohnen***$_3$ ***loten***$_2$.

COMP he the people had go:INF let:IPP

'[The king in Egypt immediately regretted] that he had let the people go.'
(JMF2006: 44)

(108) d. *[Aus he daut Riemsel soo scheen wieda vetahld, woo he met sien*
as he the rhyme so nice further told how he with his
Voda toop haud$_1$ en 'e Molotsch soone groote Feedasch opp
father together had in the Molochnaya such big wagon.loads on
'em Ladawoage jefiat$_2$ daut de Pead 'et meist nicht jedwunge$_2$
the hayrack transport:PTCP COMP the horses it almost not manage:PTCP
haude$_1$, donn trock mi von de Prince Rupert-sche Englända-loft
had then drew me from the Prince Rupert-ADJ.F Englishman-air
soon scheena Woarm derch 'et Hoatje] daut ekj meist een Bät
such nice warmth through the heart.DIM COMP I almost a bit
haud$_1$ hiele$_3$ kunnt$_2$.
had cry:INF can:IPP

'[As he continued telling that rhyme so beautifully (about) how he and his father had transported such big loads of grain on the hayrack in the Molochnaya colony that the horses were barely able to manage, then such a pleasant warmth drew into my little heart from the English air in Prince Rupert] that I almost could have cried a little.' (RE1972: 82-3)

The remaining 1-2-3 IPP constructions have been encountered in many earlier examples, among them (102a-b), (103a-c), and (104a-b). While representing by far the most numerous and diverse class of IPP constructions, 1-2-3 IPP constructions have been suggested to share an interesting property. Zwart (2007: 79) hypothesizes that *all* 1-2-3 order verb clusters represent instances of IPP constructions. Indeed, on the assumption that this prediction refers specifically to perfective verb clusters, as would appear to be the case in Zwart's argumentation, then this generalization would appear to hold in the tagged subcorpus, with no instances of non-IPP 1-2-3 perfective verb clusters noted.

While this typological prediction is without doubt intriguing, given its apparent robustness across the Continental West Germanic languages, some reservations must be expressed here as to the ultimate cause of its effectiveness. Assuming that most such languages have in common the basic restriction that neither lexical nor modal verbs are typically capable of introducing participial complements, and that participial complements are by definition required to be able to demonstrate an IPP effect, then the prediction of IPP effects in all 1-2-3 clusters effectively removes from consideration all but those three-element clusters in which a perfective auxiliary taking a participial complement is the first (or, possibly, second) cluster element. Were this not the case, then Zwart's prediction might easily be disproven with any example of a modal-modal-infinitive 1-2-3 cluster, for instance, as in (109) below.

(109) *Wäa dise twee Kjeadels kjand,* ***wudden***$_1$ ***motten***$_2$ ***saijen***$_3$,
who these two fellows knew would must:INF say:INF
[daut wea aula aus 'en Droom.]
that was all like a dream
'Whoever knew these two fellows would have to say, that was all like a dream.' (JMF2001: 65)[44]

---

[44] Similar examples of 1-2-3 clusters in verb-final constructions might be offered, as well, e.g. *[De oole*

Hence, the hypothesis that all 1-2-3 order verb clusters involve IPP would appear to require, quite reasonably, that only 1-2-3 order *perfective* verb clusters be taken into consideration. It is here that the definition of verb clusters becomes problematic, however: in order to defend the generality of his prediction in the face of non-IPP perfective 1-2-3 constructions in Samatimeric, Zwart is compelled to treat the final complement as an extraposed infinitive, rather than a member of the verb cluster proper. Analogous examples might be produced for Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, as well:

(110) *[Donn foll ahm daut bi,] he* ***haud***$_1$ *dän Zug de Nacht* ***jeheat***$_2$ ***blosen***$_3$.
then fell him it by he had the train the night hear:PTCP blow:INF
'[Then it occurred to him,] he had heard the train('s horn) blowing during the night.' (JMF2005: 16)

The position required to defend this analysis is essentially that which underlies a distinction between so-called 'third constructions' (cf. den Besten & Rutten 1989: 42) and verb clusters proper in Dutch, namely that "clustering entails IPP" (Zwart 2007: 81). However, as applied in these circumstances, this assumption would appear to render the prediction tautological: all 1-2-3 perfective verb clusters – and thus, by assumption, all 1-2-3 perfective constructions which involve IPP – are predicted to involve IPP. Thus, if

---

Taunte denkjt, doa es weens noch emma 'en Bät Bescheidenheit mank 'e junge Mejales,] daut dee sikj nich von irjend 'en framda Benjel ***wudden***$_1$ ***loten***$_2$ ***kussen***$_3$. '[The old woman thinks, "There's at least still a bit of modesty among young girls] that they wouldn't let themselves be kissed by any old unfamiliar boy."' (JMF2001: 74); or *[Juli Moonat muak he sikj opp met Famielje toop noh B.C. too foahren un boot Noba Iesak Enns aun] wann he* ***wudd***$_1$ ***halpen***$_2$ ***foahren***$_3$*, dan kunn he met*. 'In July he decided to drive with his family to B.C. and offered neighbour Isaac Enns, if he would help drive, then he could come along.' (JMF1994: 41).

this assumption is made, the prediction is tautological; if it is not made, then the prediction is demonstrably false, as examples from Samatimeric and Mennonite *Plautdietsch* show.

Nevertheless, sentences such as (110) raise an interesting question in the analysis of IPP constructions. Beyond their distinct morphological marking of the IPP verb, in what respects do IPP perfective constructions differ from non-IPP perfective constructions? Pairs of constructions such as (111a) - (111b) and (112a) - (112b) would appear to suggest that some distinction exists between IPP and non-IPP forms:

(111) a. *[Een Poa Joah trigj head ekj daut Niee Tastament wea*$_1$ *en*

a couple year back heard I the New Testament was in

Plautdietsch äwasat't$_2$*, emol sea] soo aus ekj* ***ha'***$_1$ ***leaht***$_2$ ***räden***$_3$.

Plautdietsch translated once very so as I have learn:IPP talk:INF

'A couple years ago, I heard the New Testament had been translated into *Plautdietsch* very much like I learned to speak (it).' (JMF1994: 2)

(111) b. *Wi* ***haben***$_1$ ***jeleaht***$_2$ ***oabeiden***$_3$ *un opprechtig* ***sennen***$_3$.

we have learn:PTCP work:INF and upright be:INF

'We learned to work and be honest.' (JMF2001: 23)

(112) a. *Jehaun* ***haud***$_1$ *Tommy sel'st noch goanich* ***heat***$_2$ ***räden***$_3$.

John had Tommy self still not.at.all hear:IPP speak:INF

'John had never yet heard Tommy himself speak.' (JMF1994: 60)

(112) b. [*Donn foll ahm daut bi,] he* ***haud***$_1$ *dän Zug de Nacht* ***jeheat***$_2$ ***blosen***$_3$.

then fell him it by he had the train the night hear:PTCP blow:INF

'[Then it occurred to him,] he had heard the train('s horn) blowing during the night.' (JMF2005: 16)

It may be possible that Mennonite *Plautdietsch* differentiates between two distinct classes of perfective constructions, one in which IPP forms are required, and another in which IPP forms are not (the latter being similar to the Dutch 'third construction'), with several verbs demonstrating membership in both classes of constructions. This would only seem to beg the question, however; if the selection of one class of perfective constructions over the other is presumed to have some functional or formal motivation, then it remains to be determined what precisely the relevant factors are in this decision. It would seem clear that linear order, passivity, and the status of the participial or IPP verb's complement(s) are at best imperfect predictors of this selectional variation. Processing factors, semantic complexity, and even collocational patterning between particular verb forms and their complements might be posited as other potential factors in this alternation, though their relevance must ultimately be determined by further analysis.

Such IPP constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* thus present a series of verbal complementation phenomena which are morphologically distinct from other comparable constructions, and which may warrant additional attention to both the formation of morphologically distinct IPP verb forms and to those factors which may affect the selection of IPP perfective constructions over other, non-IPP perfective constructions. While no examples of 'true' infinitive-for-participle substitution are noted in the tagged subcorpus, the 'IPP' constructions identified in this section nevertheless appear to demonstrate similar typological characteristics to IPP phenomena in related languages, most notably the absence of the *je-* perfective marker on IPP verb forms. Given reports of other forms of IPP constructions in other varieties of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* (cf. Zwart 2007: 81), further cross-varietal research would appear necessary to determine the true extent of these phenomena in the language.

3.7. VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION BEYOND THE TAGGED SUBCORPUS. What has been seen of verbal complementation and related phenomena in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* thus far has relied almost without exception upon data drawn from the tagged subcorpus, which has proven to offer a considerable number of relevant examples of complementation in naturally-occurring written contexts. While the availability of parts-of-speech tags in this section of the corpus has made viable quantitative analyses of variation which would likely have been intractable otherwise, it must be conceded that this sample demonstrates several important limitations. Arguably among the most critical of these deficiencies is the representation of only two authors, albeit each from an historically distinct dialect group, in the sample: given the variability which has been observed in complementation constructions, both within and between the respective varieties of each author, it might be asked to what extent this sample can be taken to be representative of the full range of variation encountered in such constructions across varieties of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, or perhaps even within the two varieties attested here. While further data might be provided for each author – both have since released further publications – it may be of value to consider verbal complementation in the works of other writers, in order to gain a better appreciation of the range of variation attested cross-varietally in these constructions.

This section therefore seeks to give a brief overview of verbal complementation constructions as represented in the works of two other Mennonite *Plautdietsch* authors, namely Jack Klassen (JK) and Jacob A. Loewen (JAL). The former reports to have been born and raised in southern Manitoba (Klassen 2003: verso), while the latter states that he was born in the Mennonite settlement of Orenburg (USSR) in 1922, emigrating with his family to southern Manitoba in 1930 and from there to British Columbia (Loewen 1996: 6). Both authors would thus appear to represent potentially different varieties of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* than those found in the tagged subcorpus: while both Klassen and Loewen have several morphological features in common with RE (most prominently the final *-e* plural and infinitival marker, where JMF has *-en*), neither likely shares with RE an historical emigration from the Molochnaya Colony to the United States, nor the upbringing in Saskatchewan common to JMF and RE. As neither of the works cited here for JK and JAL have been orthographically normalized and tagged for parts of speech, quantitative analysis of complementation patterns is difficult, as is the exhaustive retrieval of all relevant examples of verbal complementation. Nevertheless, those complementation constructions which can be identified in the works of these two authors may still serve as an indicator of the constructional schemas and orders attested in such constructions in other *Plautdietsch*-speaking Russian Mennonite communities, bearing in mind that other relevant constructions and verbal orders might yet be found in the cited works, as well.

The present section considers only a subset of the more common two, three, and four-element finite verbal complementation constructions reviewed in section 3.3. This should not be taken to indicate that the remaining constructions are not to be found in JK or JAL; rather, the focus here is upon the attestation of these frequent constructional classes, with particular attention paid to the linear ordering of their component verbs. The first set of schemas, all four pertaining to two-element finite verbal complementation constructions, and the linear orders attested in each one are given in Table 3.22 below.

Constructional schema	Order	JK2003		JAL1996	
		V_2	V_{Final}	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – Participle	1-2	✓	✓	✓	
	2-1		✓		✓
Modal – Bare Infinitive	1-2	✓	✓	✓	
	2-1		✓		✓
Lexical – Bare Infinitive	1-2	✓	✓	✓	
	2-1		✓		✓
Lexical – Too Infinitive	1-2	✓	✓	✓	✓
	2-1				

Table 3.22. Attested verb orders for JK and JAL in verb-second and verb-final contexts in four schemas of two-element finite verbal complementation constructions.

As inspection of this table indicates, both authors appear essentially consistent in their preference of 1-2 order in verb-second contexts, with no exceptions noted in any schema considered here. In verb-final contexts, however, the situation appears quite different: where JK appears to permit both 1-2 and 2-1 orders in all schemas having participial or bare-infinitival complements, as in (113a) and (113b), JAL demonstrates *only* 2-1 order in verb-final context in all such schemas, as in (113c). Only in *Lexical – Too Infinitive* constructions do both authors appear in accord, both appearing to require the lexical verb to precede its second-status complement in verb-final contexts.

(113) a. *[Trutje jinkj$_1$ daut nich goot doa rauf nom Prom foare$_2$ wiel*
Trutje went that not good there down to.the ferry drive:INF because
eene wisst niemols] wannea dee Bramse ***wudde$_1$*** *heet* ***woare$_2$*** *un*
one knew never when the brakes would hot become:INF and
toojäwe$_2$ wudde$_1$.
give.out:INF would
'[Trutje didn't enjoy driving down there to the ferry because you never knew when the brakes would get hot and would give out.' (JK2003: 123)

(113) b. *[Daut wea Tiet] daut see ar* ***weete$_2$ leet$_1$*** *äwa dee Jefoa daut see*
it was time COMP she her know:INF let over the danger COMP she
enn Trubbel ***kunn$_1$*** *nenn* ***jerode$_2$****...*
in trouble could into get.into:INF
'[It was time] that she let her know about the danger that she could wind up in trouble...' (JK2003: 168)

(113) c. *[Ekj hoop] daut dee Jêshichjte jünt Freid* ***möake$_2$ woare$_1$*** *ên uck*
I hope COMP the stories you joy make:INF will and also
jêwesse Ennzecht enn onze menshlichje Kultüre ên enn'ne
certain insight in our human cultures and in.the
Missjounsoabeit ***jäwe$_2$ woare$_1$.***
mission.work give:INF will
'[I hope] that these stories will be a joy to you and also give you a certain insight into our human cultures and into mission work.' (JAL1996: 18)

Whereas the differences between JK and JAL in two-element verbal complementation would appear more or less systematic, with JK employing 1-2 orders which are not attested for JAL in verb-final contexts, those three element constructions presented in Table 3.23 demonstrate substantially more variability. Both authors appear consistent in the placement of the finite verb in verb-second constructions, although the order of the subsequent infinitival complements would appear to differ from schema to schema (JAL, for instance, seems to permit deviation from strictly descending orders only in verb-second IPP constructions and in constructions with final second-status complements, with all other constructions demonstrating 3-2 order in the complement infinitives) and from author to author (JK commonly uses both 1-2-3 and 1-3-2 order in verb-second contexts where JAL has only one or the other order).

Constructional schema	Order	JK2003		JAL1996	
		V_2	V_{Final}	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3	✓	✓	✓	
	1-3-2	✓			✓
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3	✓	✓		
	1-3-2	✓	✓	✓	✓
	3-1-2		✓		✓
	3-2-1				✓
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Participle	1-3-2	✓	✓	✓	
	3-1-2		✓		✓
	3-2-1				✓
Modal – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive	1-2-3	✓		✓	
	2-1-3				✓

Table 3.23. Attested verb orders for JK and JAL in verb-second and verb-final contexts in four schemas of three-element finite verbal complementation constructions.

In verb-final contexts in three-element constructions, this variation would seem even more pronounced: the strictly ascending orders exemplified in (114a) and most commonly observed in all but participial (i.e. perfective and passive) constructions for JK are not attested at all for JAL, where strictly descending orders as in (114b) predominate in all but IPP constructions and constructions with second-status final complements. Given the prevalence of 3-2-1 order in JAL and its extreme rarity in RE, JAL, and JMF (the order is attested only once among these three authors, appearing in a single verb-final passive construction in JMF), it might be suggested that this adherence to strictly descending orders of complementation is perhaps characteristic of verbal complementation for JAL, those exceptions presented by IPP phenomena and second-status complements notwithstanding.

(114) a. *[See wist] daut see opp soon Struck Foarm mett fäl* ***wud***$_1$

she knew COMP she on such.a bush farm with much would

motte$_2$ ***halpe***$_3$.

must:INF help:INF

'[She knew] that she would have to help with much on an isolated farm like this.' (JK2003: 3)

(114) b. *[Wie hoope] daut wie disse ee'fache Räajêl fê dee gauntse*

we hope COMP we this simple rule for the entire

Shpröak ***derchj zate***$_3$ ***kjenne***$_2$ ***woare***$_1$.

language through set:INF can:INF will

'[We hope] that we will be able to apply this rule to the entire language.' (JAL1996: 204)

Given this apparent tendency towards descending orders of complementation in verb-final contexts, it is interesting to note the ascending order 1-3-2 with IPP constructions, as in (115a). The same constructions in JK are attested only in 1-2-3 order, as in (115b). Both examples additionally present instances of VPR, another phenomena frequently attested in JK and rarely found in JMF, possibly as a consequence of their seemingly opposite preferences with respect to verbal ordering.

(115) a. *[Fŏakên pakte mie dee Jêdankês zou daut ekj gaunts fêgaut,*
often grabbed me the thoughts so COMP I completely forgot
daut ekj] daut ekj am ***haud***$_1$ *doll* ***zenne***$_3$ ***wullt***$_2$, *[ên mie fäa jênoome*$_2$
COMP I COMP I him had angry be:INF want:IPP and REFL intend:PTCP
haud am dee Lêwiete fäa tê läze.]
had him the Levitical.laws fore to read:INF
'[Often the thoughts so grasped me that I completely forgot] that I had wanted to be mad at him [and had intended to read him the riot act.]'
(JAL1996: 117)

(115) b. *[See kunn*$_1$ *ar auntwuade*$_2$ *en ar saje*$_2$*] daut äare rajchte Ellre ar*
she could her answer:INF and her say:INF COMP her true parents her
nich ***haude***$_1$ ***kunt***$_2$ *jescheit* ***opptrakje***$_3$ *en haude*$_1$ *jedocht*$_2$ *daut'et*
not had can:IPP properly raise:INF and had think:PTCP COMP it
bäta wea wann see däa no en aund'rem aufjäwe$_2$ *deede*$_1$.
better was if they DEM to an other.M.ACC give.away:INF did
'[She could answer her and tell her] that her real parents hadn't been able to raise her properly and had thought it was better if they gave her to

another (person, family).' (JK2003: 167)

Finally, four-element verbal complementation constructions are summarized in Table 3.24. Interestingly, while no instances of four-element complementation are noted in JAL, such constructions would appear exceptionally common in JK, with not only the three schemas noted in the table appearing in JK2003, but also four other schemas not attested elsewhere in RE or JMF (i.e. *Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Too Infinitive* (e.g. *haude*$_1$ *sullt*$_2$ *lote*$_3$ *to äwanäme*$_4$ 'should have allowed to take over', 1-2-3-4 verb-second and verb-final), *Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Participle* (e.g. *haud*$_1$ *sult*$_2$ *trigj jekome*$_4$ *senne*$_3$ 'should have been returned', 1-2-4-3 verb-second),[45] *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive – Participle* (e.g. *wudde*$_1$ *motte*$_2$ *auleen jelote*$_4$ *woare*$_3$ 'would have to be left alone', 1-2-4-3 verb-second and verb-final), and *Modal – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive* (e.g. *wudde*$_1$ *motte*$_2$ *kjanne*$_4$ *leare*$_3$ 'would have to get to know', 1-2-4-3 verb final). Only 1-2-3-4 and 1-2-4-3 orders are noted in these four-element constructions; orders ending in 4-3 would appear to occur more commonly with passives and with certain phrasal verbs (e.g. *kjanne*$_2$ *leahre*$_1$ 'get to know'), though this is not universally the case (e.g. *haud*$_1$ *sullt*$_2$ *schlope*$_4$ *kjenne*$_3$ 'should have been able to sleep').

---

[45] This example may in fact be attributive, rather than perfective (i.e. 'to be returned', rather than 'to have returned'), and thus represent a three-element construction, instead. It would appear ambiguous here since *kome(n)* 'to come' typically appears with the passive auxiliary *sennen* 'to be', rather than with *haben* 'to have'.

Constructional schema	Order	JK2003		JAL1996	
		V_2	V_{Final}	V_2	V_{Final}
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3-4	✓			
	1-2-4-3		✓		
Auxiliary – IPP – Bare Infinitive – Participle	1-2-4-3	✓			
Modal – Bare Infinitive – IPP – Bare Infinitive	1-2-3-4	✓			

Table 3.24. Attested verb orders for JK and JAL in verb-second and verb-final contexts in three schemas of four-element finite verbal complementation constructions.

If these further samples might be taken as presenting reasonable indications of the range of variation found in verbal complementation constructions across varieties (or, potentially, across speakers) of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, then it would seem that much may remain to be described in these constructions. The apparent frequency of four-element constructions and ascending orders of complementation in JK, and, similarly, the prevalence of otherwise-uncommon descending orders of complementation in JAL would both seem anomalous when viewed in the light of the complementation constructions documented for RE and JMF. While not rendering these descriptions invalid, this brief overview of finite verbal complementation constructions in the works of two other authors would appear to suggest that further, more detailed cross-varietal investigation of these constructions may be warranted. While a quantitative comparison of the complementation patterns of these four authors may reveal greater similarities or differences than are easily ascertained through 'manual' inspection of concordance lines, this task must await the normalization and tagging of the remaining works in the corpus.

3.8. SUMMARY. This chapter has sought to present an overview of verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, with primary attention given to the representation of such constructions in several of the published works of two Canadian Mennonite authors. Beginning with an overview of verbal constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, this chapter proceeded to describe the patterns of morphological marking (status) which are characteristic of verbal complementation constructions in this language, considering apparent variation in the patterns of the assignment of this marking by individual verbs and constructions, as well as the relation of these morphological hallmarks of verbal complementation to both lexical classes of verbs and the linear ordering of complements. While it was observed that regularities might be found in the relationship between morphological marking and complement order – infinitives appearing with the infinitival marker *too*, for instance, often appear to the right of the matrix verbs which introduce them – these patterns, where present, would appear subject to considerable variation across lexical contexts and authors, suggesting morphological marking and linear complement order to represent related, albeit distinct aspects of complementation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*.

Indeed, a more focused investigation of the status government patterns of several variable-status verbs in section 3.3 suggested that the morphological forms evinced by these verbs' complements were not wholly predictable from either clause length or genre. Neither could the position of these complements be determined from their respective statuses or the status of the matrix verb which introduced them. The hypothesis was thus advanced that semantic factors may play a part in determining the morphological form in which a given complement verb appears, perhaps iconically mirroring the degree of integration into the complex event structure which verbal complementation often serves to construct. Regardless of the ultimate status of this proposal, it would seem clear from the present investigation that linear order does not reduce to morphological status in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, nor, conversely, morphological status to linear order. As distinct phenomena in this language, then, both the morphological and syntactic aspects of verbal complementation constructions must arguably receive some degree of individual attention in order to come to an empirically-adequate account of the variability observed in both.

Following this discussion of morphological marking in complementation constructions, the largest portion of the remainder of this chapter concentrated upon presenting a description of finite and infinitival verbal complementation as attested in the tagged subcorpus. As in Wurmbrand (2006), such constructions were grouped initially into constructional schemas having differing numbers of and morphological marking for complement verbs, providing for each schema both quantitative and qualitative characterizations of its occurrence in the corpus. Subsequent investigation sought to determine significant classes of constructions within each schema, as well as patterns in the linear orders of constituents, the presence or absence of fixed-phrasal and idiomatic elements among the verbal collocates, and potential associations in the usage of these schemas with particular genres, finite verb positions, or authors. This detailed inspection of each constructional class attested in the tagged subcorpus revealed wide-ranging and statistically significant associations between particular genres and verbal orders: in two-element constructions, for instance, 1-2 order appears strongly favoured over 2-1 order in cases where the former variant positions the infinitive to support an existing rhyme scheme. The use of formal statistical methods to demonstrate such associations as being more than ephemeral or illusory relied extensively upon the resources of the underlying corpus, bringing large amounts of data of favourable ecological validity to bear upon the descriptive problem at hand. The resulting description extended the 'traditional' tables of acceptable constructions and verbal orders with a quantification of their respective patterns of occurrence for each author across constructional contexts, thus providing what is perhaps the first systematic characterization of such verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* to be based upon actual usage data.

For two-element finite verbal complementation constructions, this analysis was supplemented with a generalized linear mixed-effects model of alternation in the linear order of verbal constituents observed in verb-final contexts, considering the contribution of individual verbal and verbal-constructional features (such as tense, constructional schema, verb lemmas, passivity, among others) to the selection of complement orders in such constructions. Such statistical modelling, while not common in comparable studies of verbal complementation or syntactic variation in general, nevertheless revealed several unexpected factors to be significant predictors of the alternation between 1-2 and 2-1 order in verb-final contexts. The emergence of matrix verb tense, among other factors, as a feature predictive of linear order was unanticipated, having not been identified in previous 'manual' analysis as bearing upon this alternation. Likewise, apparent divergences between individual verbs, even among those commonly ascribed to a single syntactic class, were at once unforeseen and intriguing. Where one might have expected modal verbs such as *mäajen* 'may' and *kjennen* 'can' to demonstrate similar, if not identical syntactic behaviour, their participation in these constructions, as reproduced in the random effects structure of the proposed statistical model, would appear to demonstrate notable differences in the ordering 'preferences' associated with each of these two verbs. While such an analysis was only possible for two-element constructions due to their relatively high frequency, schemas representing both three and four-element finite verbal complementation constructions were considered in subsequent sections, as were complementation constructions introduced by infinitival verbs. Consideration of the latter series of constructions gave additional prominence to the nominalization of infinitival verbs, as well as to the morphosyntactic distribution and grammatical origins of the common complementizer *toom*, which introduces many such infinitival complementation constructions.

The two sections immediately following this discussion of finite and infinitival verbal complementation concentrated upon two classes of phenomena related to verbal complementation which had received only passing attention in early discussion, namely verb projection raising (VPR) and *infinitivus-pro-participio* (IPP) effects. Both constructions present problems of immediate relevance to the analysis of verbal complementation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, the former bringing increased attention to the status of *too*-infinitival complements within the final verb cluster and to possible variation in the word orders 'governed' by complementizers; the latter to the regularity of morphological marking of verb cluster elements and the relationship of second-status complementation to membership in verb clusters. In particular, the focus upon non-verbal material appearing within verb clusters brought to light potential ambiguities in the identification of verb-second and verb-final orders in typically verb-final clausal contexts (ambiguities which require the presence of adverbs or particles to resolve), as well as the absence of non-verbal material intervening between verbs in descending order of complementation (e.g. no examples of 1-3-2 VPR in which non-verbal material appears between 3 and 2). As well, typological predictions made by Zwart (2007) concerning the distribution of IPP constructions across the Continental West Germanic languages were argued to be either tautological or else readily refuted by data from the present corpus of Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, a result which, if correct, may be of relevance to the analysis of comparable constructions in several related languages.

Concluding discussion of complementation in this chapter was a brief exploration of a subset of common verbal complementation constructions as they were found in the untagged and unnormalized works of two other authors of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* in the present corpus, thus presenting some notion of the range of variation in complementation phenomena which may have remained outside of the primary scope of attention through reliance upon the tagged subcorpus. Taken together, these sections have sought to present a description of the morphological and syntactic characteristics of verbal complementation in its full range of variation within the present corpus. While it would seem without doubt that further work might productively be carried out in the investigation of many aspects of the complementation phenomena examined in this chapter, much of what has already been offered in the present documentation may arguably warrant further discussion, as is pursued in the following chapter.

4. Discussion. The description of verbal complementation phenomena in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* developed in the preceding chapters has been pursued through the inspection and quantitative, constructional analysis of several thousand examples of such constructions drawn from a corpus of written *Plautdietsch*. While this concentration upon attested occurrences of verbal complementation produced without coercion on the part of the primary investigator has been argued to represent a potential strength of the present study, it has had among its consequences a focus upon the characteristics of individual constructions and families of structurally-similar constructions, rather than upon the properties and purposes of verbal complementation in general. That is, the motivations for the use and attested structural features of verbal complementation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, and indeed an explanation of such constructions' apparent frequency in naturally-occurring samples of the language, have been rendered largely subordinate to the concerns of the descriptive task at hand. These broader questions would seem no less relevant to description than the treatment of individual instances of complementation, however, inasmuch as they provide insight into the general syntactic and semantic properties which may characterize verbal complementation in this language as a whole.

Verbal complementation might be viewed as one means of constructing complex predicates: rather than relying upon derivation, compounding, or other potentially less transparent morphological processes to produce suitable verb forms, verbal complementation permits the verbal 'actions' or 'events' of several distinct verbs to be combined more or less analytically to express a complex scene with little further morphological marking. This perspective on verbal complementation places attention upon the semantic aspects of acceptable complementation, and their reflection in verbal complementation cross-linguistically. That is, if verbal complementation indeed 'joins' individual verbs in the expression of a single complex event, then restrictions upon verbal complementation due to the complexity or semantic implausibility of the resulting predicate might be predicted to be reflected to some extent in cross-linguistic patterns of complementation. In their overview of verb clustering phenomena in Hungarian, Dutch, and German, É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk (2004) note that

> [t]he verbs participating in verb clusters in Hungarian are largely identical with those in Dutch and German – and they also coincide to a significant extent e.g. with the verbs triggering clitic raising in Italian (cf. Roberts 1997). Their coincidence must have a semantic basis – it is these verbs that do not necessarily express a separate event, but merely denote a modal or temporal aspect of an event expressed by a lexical verb. (É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004: 25)

Without suggesting the set of 'clustering' verbs to be entirely uniform from language to language, this proposal that a semantic basis to verbal complementation is necessary to account for observed commonalities in classes of complementation constructions across languages would appear intriguing. That inchoative, causative, potentative, and modal verbs should appear in verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* [illegible]eem less unexpected on this view, as these verbs in particular contribute to the modal and temporal interpretation of the final complex predicate. It may be the case that verbal semantics, more so than any particular formal feature of verbal complementation, determine the general boundaries of permissible verbal complementation patterns. While this hypothesis would require further typological and descriptive investigation, an account of these observed cross-linguistic patterns in the analytical formation of complex predicates would seem necessary, and may present one avenue for productive typological study.

From this semantic perspective, then, verbal complementation presents an abstract relation between individual verbs contributing to a single verbal action or event, with each such verb appearing with morphological marking signalling its participation in the complex predicate under construction. Distinguishing between the semantic relations holding between such verbs and their formal instantiation in the sentence would appear important, given observed variation in the morphological marking, linear order, and position of these verbs both within and across clausal contexts. That is, complementation and 'clausehood' do not necessarily coincide: for complex predicates which incorporate nominal or adverbial phrases, for instance, verbal complements of such phrases may appear as postposed first or second-status infinitives, occasionally having their own case-marked nominal arguments, and thus would seem to represent topological syntactic units distinct from their matrix verbs. In certain cases, this difference in topological status may potentially be reflected in morphological marking, as well: in the IPP constructions reviewed in section 3.6, it would seem possible that postposed complements existing within the same topological unit as the perfective construction itself may require IPP marking of the perfective verb, whereas complements existing in a topological unit of their own do not. The extent to which such differences in topological status correspond to semantic features of the resulting predicate (e.g. whether or not topologically-distinct complements are also interpreted differently from topologically-integrated complements, such as the final verbal complements in three-element IPP constructions) remains to be determined.

The contribution of individual complement verbs to the formal realization of complementation would also appear to present a matter of some interest. Indeed, if the best linear unbiased predictors produced for matrix verbs in verb-final two-element complementation constructions through the generalized linear mixed-effects modelling undertaken in section 3.3.1.10 can be taken as representative, even single verbs would appear to demonstrate potentially distinct 'preferences' for particular complement orders within identical constructional contexts, with differences noted even between verbs of the same lexical class (e.g. the modal *mäajen* 'may' appears to favour 2-1 order, while the modal *kjennen* 'can' favours the opposite, 1-2 order; cf. Table 3.14). If further analysis shows this to be the case, then such preferences would appear to suggest strongly that empirically adequate descriptions of such grammatical phenomena require reference to specific lexical material, and not merely to abstract classes sharing similar semantic or syntactic characteristics. Stated another way, if individual verbs do indeed demonstrate idiosyncratic linear ordering preferences, and these not only do not reduce to other properties of their constructional contexts or participation in collocations, but also cross-cut both common functional (semantic) and formal (syntactic) classes, then it would appear necessary to make reference to specific lexical instantiations of constructions in the description of their acceptable linear orders of verbs.

In general, the relationship between syntax and lexis in verbal complementation constructions remains an area in which much further research might be pursued. While not brought into the present description of verbal complementation as a predictor of syntactic alternation *per se*, it would seem interesting to explore possible correlations between linear orders and lexical frequencies: do less frequent verbs demonstrate different ordering preferences than more frequent verbs? Again considering the opposing modal verbs noted above, it may be relevant that *mäajen* 'may', which favours 2-1 order, is among the least frequent of the attested modals, while *kjennen* 'can', which appears more commonly in 1-2 order, is among the most frequent. Whether or not lexical frequency would prove to be a relevant factor in predicting syntactic alternation, both in the present corpus and in further data, would of course require further investigation. Nothing (except the absence of lemma information from the corpus, a deficit which is intended to be corrected in future versions of the corpus) would appear to prevent the incorporation of lexical frequency measures into quantitative models of verbal alternation such as those presented in section 3.3.1.10.

Similarly, the relationship between verbal complementation and collocation may present phenomena at the intersection of lexis and syntax meriting further attention, not only in exploring lexical cooccurrence patterns within particular constructional contexts (e.g. through collostructional analysis, as was suggested in section 3.3), but also for the predictive value of collocational strength in modelling verb order alternations. If a pair of verbs such as *schlopen*$_2$ *gohnen*$_1$ 'go to sleep' has a higher collocational strength than the equivalent *gohnen*$_1$ *schlopen*$_2$, might this collocational affinity between verbs appearing in a particular linear order represent a salient predictor of the orders of these two verbs in other constructional contexts, as well? Moreover, might the degree of collostructional attraction or repulsion (cf. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003) between verbs and a particular constructional frame prove to be a relevant predictor of those verbs' linear orders, with more frequent or 'prototypical' elements demonstrating orders different from those of less frequent elements? While the present lack of lemma information in the corpus again complicates access to the frequencies of the relevant verbs, little else would seem to exclude such factors from being brought into quantitative models and tested accordingly. Questions such as these raise issues of possible relevance not only to the representation of verbal complementation, but also to the relationship between lexical knowledge and syntactic form. If contextual properties of lexical material associated with collocational and constructional occurrence (beyond what is typically assumed as lexical classes or subcategorization restrictions) are demonstrated to be necessary to the empirically adequate representation of such syntactic phenomena, then this fact may have implications for present theories of syntactic competence and its relationship to the lexicon, and for conceptions of syntactic knowledge more generally.

This is not to suggest that all factors relevant to the structure of verbal complementation constructions are necessarily lexical or constructional in nature. As was suggested in section 3.3.1.10, processing constraints may have played a role in the synchronic form and diachronic development of these constructions and the attested complementation patterns. It may be the case that, by positioning verbs in positions earlier in the utterance than where they might be expected from constructional context, the burden represented by unresolved verbal dependencies upon working memory or syntactic processing might be reduced, as has been suggested a.o. by Lötscher (1978) and Haider (2003). The observation of greater numbers of 1-2 orders in longer verb-final two-element finite complementation constructions than in shorter constructions of this type might be seen as potentially supporting such a hypothesis. It would seem necessary, however, to distinguish between instances in which the 'early' finite verb occurs before coordinate infinitival complements (and thus might be attributed to an extension of the scope of that modal verb over both complements, rather than processing factors alone), and instances where no such coordination is involved. While proposals for assessing processing complexity differ (cf. Hawkins 1999), it may nevertheless be possible to integrate some form of these measures into quantitative modelling, and thus pursue this aspect of linear order variation, as well. Distinguishing between already-established constructions which may have developed historically in response to processing constraints and these synchronically 'exceptional' verb placements may present further difficulties for the exploration of this hypothesis, however, particularly if concentrating upon synchronic corpus data alone, although it may be possible to employ experimental methods to gather relevant physical response data for these constructions (e.g. through eye tracking studies, recall tasks, or measurement of event-related potentials).

In a similar way, sociolinguistic factors may prove to offer another set of relevant non-lexical predictors of variation in these constructions, as Kaufmann (2003a) has argued. Investigation throughout the third chapter of the relationship between genres, authors, and constructions revealed numerous quantitative associations between these factors, suggesting both possible differences between the represented dialects and shared functions of certain constructional variants in certain text types (e.g. of 1-2 orders serving to preserve rhyme scheme in poetry). Nevertheless, aspects of these constructions which have been analyzed profitably from variationist-sociolinguistic perspectives – the distribution of these constructions across domains, age groups, genders, and speech communities, for instance – receive little attention here due to the composition of the present corpus. Extension of the corpus to include samples, both written and spoken, of further speakers / authors in a wider range of contexts might in part alleviate this problem, as might the integration of additional demographic information for the speakers presently represented.

Such demographic information may be of potential value in tracing the historical development of verbal complementation constructions in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* across disparate speech communities. If, as Kaufmann (2003a) has suggested, the prevalence of non-descending orders in verb-final constructional contexts represents a relatively new phenomenon in this language, one which may be leading to the reinterpretation of verb-second and verb-final requirements of certain complementizers by younger speakers, then contrasts in verbal ordering should be noted between different generations and speech communities. The historical development of such verbal complementation constructions may provide insight into apparent irregularities in their present structure, as well. While written records for Mennonite *Plautdietsch* are scarce before the 1940s (cf. Epp 1996: 3), comparison of these constructions in the varieties maintained today in *Plautdietsch* speech communities separated by emigration and in related varieties of Low

German may provide one means of determining the most plausible historical forms of these constructions.

The acquisition of these complex constructions by younger speakers presents several interesting problems in its own right. As was noted in section 3.3.4, it remains an open question on the constructional approach adopted here precisely how speakers learn the structure of the most complex and least frequent constructions in the corpus – how it is possible to infer acceptable linear orderings and morphological marking patterns from exposure to constructions which are several orders of magnitude less common than two-element verbal complementation constructions. For theories of syntax which assume some form of universal grammar, this problem would seem less acute – it would appear possible on these views to presume that features of the limited number of constructions observed are sufficient to 'trigger' the appropriate structural parameters which subsequently produce more complex verbal complementation constructions, or that other features of verbal complementation or verbal syntax in general serve to establish the requisite constraints which rule out unattested orders and markings, regardless of constructional frequency. For other theories, however, the observation that the increased number of combinatorial possibilities which accompany longer sequences of complement verbs would not appear to be met with a proportional increase in ordering variation presents an intriguing problem. While it may be possible to relate the structure of more complex verbal complementation constructions to that of simpler and more frequent constructions, treating more complex constructions as extensions or combinations of more frequent constructional patterns, this has not (and, given the scarcity of relevant data, likely cannot conclusively) be demonstrated here.

All such perspectives on verbal complementation in Continental West Germanic, whether concentrating upon lexical, collocational, constructional, historical, acquisitional, or processing factors in the structure and interpretation of these constructions, would appear required to address the considerable variation noted between languages, varieties, and individual speakers. This presents, as É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk (2004) point out, a significant "challenge not only to linguists working on West Germanic and Hungarian verb clusters, but also to generative theory as such, which is not well prepared to handle either free variants or uncertain grammaticality judgments" (32).[46] Without suggesting this challenge to be restricted to generative theory alone, the present quantitative, constructional approach would arguably appear to benefit from its consideration of usage data in assessing patterns within this variation without requiring all or even most factors to be dichotomous in nature. In drawing predictors of this variation not only from structural and semantic domains, but also from the lexical, historical, and sociolinguistic contexts in which such constructions are invariably embedded, it may be possible to determine more about the patterning of both this 'free' variation and instances of categorical acceptability than could be ascertained through consideration of grammaticality judgements alone.

---

[46] Wurmbrand (2006) would appear to be of a similar opinion, arguing that "many verb cluster triggers end up as 'parameters' that capture only the facts of verb-cluster reordering in one particular language" (285). These parameters, she continues, "although perhaps 'dressed' in a nicer way" than listings of possible constructions, "are nevertheless arbitrary stipulations with little or no predictive power, and hence the postulation of these assumptions contributes little to the basic questions of how verb cluster structures are motivated and why this phenomenon exists" (285).

5. Conclusion. Verbal complementation phenomena, in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* as in other Continental West Germanic languages, pose problems of considerable intricacy for contemporary linguistic analysis. As common features of the verbal syntax of these languages, verbal complementation constructions represent phenomena which must receive attention in any adequate descriptive and documentary treatments of these languages. Nevertheless, as recent empirical research has indicated, variation across speakers and speech communities in both the attested structure and reported acceptability of such constructions would appear essentially endemic, presenting particular difficulties for attempts to reduce these phenomena to the interactions of structural and semantic features of verb classes and clausal contexts alone (cf. Wurmbrand 2006: 285; É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004: 32).

Accordingly, it has been suggested that verbal complementation phenomena may present a fundamentally multifactorial problem (cf. Lötscher 1978), the investigation of which may require analysts to pursue not only studies of the categorical structural and semantic 'poles' of these constructions through metalinguistic acceptability judgements gathered through introspection, but also of those social, pragmatic, and lexical aspects of such constructions' usage which may characterize observed variation, and thus contribute to the development of empirically adequate accounts of verbal complementation as a whole. The incorporation of usage data into syntactic analysis, and in particular systematically encoded samples of natural language drawn from appropriate corpora, might be seen to encourage both responsibility to the empirical record and openness to the replication and challenge of such studies in future research, without precluding the provision of complementary data from other experimental paradigms. Importantly, the availability of modern statistical methods for multivariate analysis renders tractable the analysis of larger quantities of contextually-rich, naturally-occurring linguistic data than would have been feasible by traditional methods alone, without requiring the abandonment of 'standard' syntactic argumentation or the wholesale reduction of these data to either purely structural or purely semantic factors.

The preceding chapters have sought to describe such verbal complementation phenomena as they occur in a corpus of contemporary written Mennonite *Plautdietsch*, with primary attention given to complementation patterns in the works of two Canadian authors of historically-distinct dialect groups. Where possible, the present study has attempted to give attention not only to broader constructional context, but also to the contributions of genre, collocation, and individual verbs in the description of observed variation in the linear ordering and morphological marking of complement verbs. While the size and composition of the corpus sample limits the pursuit of certain promising avenues of inquiry, it is nevertheless sufficient to permit statistical modelling of variation in linear ordering in two-element constructions, and, more generally, to give an overview, however incomplete, of verbal complementation phenomena as they appear in naturally-occurring written language.

Verbal complementation in Mennonite *Plautdietsch* thus presents problems of twofold interest: in their prevalence throughout the verbal constructions of the language, verbal complementation constructions constitute phenomena at the heart of Mennonite *Plautdietsch* syntax, and thus features of critical relevance to adequate descriptions of this language, as well. In the apparent pervasiveness of variation in their structure, verbal complementation constructions present a further challenge to linguistic documentation and linguistic theory, insofar as both must seek to account for this alternation and its ultimate causes. The centrality of these constructions and the scope of their variation arguably compels both theoretical and documentary traditions to revisit the empirical record, to develop and pursue analyses which consider the interrelationship of features of linguistic and sociolinguistic context which may have remained largely separate within the purview of syntactic research to date, and, thus, to consider the structure and nature of linguistic knowledge in constructions such as these.

References

Auburger, Leopold. 1977. Die monophthongalen Vokale des kanadischen Plautdietsch [The monophthong vowels of Canadian Plautdietsch]. *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Kanada: Berichte zur Gegenwartslage*, ed. by Leopold Auburger and Heinz Kloss, 139-148. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Baayen, R. Harald. 2008. *Analyzing Linguistic Data: A Practical Introduction Using R.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bech, Gunnar. 1955. *Studien über das deutsche Verbum Infinitum* [Studies of the German Infinitival Verb]. 1. Band. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, bind 35, nr. 2. København: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Bech, Gunnar. 1957. *Studien über das deutsche Verbum Infinitum* [Studies of the German Infinitival Verb]. 2. Band. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, bind 35, nr. 2. København: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Boas, Hans C. 2003. *A Constructional Approach to Resultatives*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Brandt, Carsten. 1992. *Sprache und Sprachgebrauch der Mennoniten in Mexiko* [Language and Linguistic Behaviour of the Mennonites in Mexico]. Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag.

Brednich, Rolf Wilhelm. 1977. *Mennonite Folklife and Folklore: A Preliminary Report.* Mercury Series Paper No. 22. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man.

Buchheit, Robert H. 1978. *Mennonite 'Plautdietsch': A Phonological and Morphological Description of a Settlement Dialect in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska.

Campbell, Lyle. 1999. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structures.* Den Haag / Paris: Mouton de Gruyter.

Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Croft, William. 2004a. Syntactic theories and syntactic methodology: a reply to Seuren. *Journal of Linguistics* 40.637-654.

Croft, William. 2004b. Logical and typological arguments for Radical Construction Grammar. *Construction Grammar(s): Cognitive and Cross-language Dimensions. Constructional Approaches to Language 3*, ed. by Mirjam Fried and Jan-Ola Östman, 273-314. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

De Fehr, William, Gerhard Ens, George Epp, Helen Janzen, Peter Klassen, Lloyd Siemens, and Jack Thiessen, eds. 1974. *Harvest: Anthology of Mennonite Writing in Canada.* Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons Ltd.

Den Besten, Hans and Jean Rutten. 1989. On verb vaising, extraposition and free word order in Dutch. *Sentential Complementation and the Lexicon: Studies in Honour of Wim de Geest*, ed. by Dany Jaspers, Wim Klooster, Yvan Putseys, and Pieter Seuren, 41-56. Dordrecht: Foris.

Doell, Leonard. 1987. *The Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Saskatchewan: 1892-1975*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: CMBC Publications.

Dryer, Matthew. 2006. Descriptive theories, explanatory theories, and Basic Linguistic Theory. *Catching Language: The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing. Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 167*, ed. by Felix K. Ameka, Alan Dench, and Nicholas Evans, 207-234. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dyck, Cornelius J. 1993. *An Introduction to Mennonite History.* 3rd ed. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press.

É. Kiss, Katalin and Henk van Riemsdijk. 2004. Verb clusters: some basic notions. *Verb Clusters: A Study of Hungarian, German, and Dutch*, ed. by Katalin É. Kiss and Henk van Riemsdijk, 1-40. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Epp, Frank H. 1962. *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution*. Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesen & Sons.

Epp, Georg K. and Heinrich Wiebe, eds. 1977. *Unter dem Nordlicht: Anthologie des deutschen Schrifttums der Mennoniten in Kanada* [Under the Northern Lights: Anthology of the German Literature of the Mennonites in Canada]. Altona, Manitoba: Friesen Printers.

Epp, Reuben. 1972. *Plautdietsche Schreftsteckja (Low-German Writings)*. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers.

Epp, Reuben. 1987. Plautdietsch: origins, development and state of the Mennonite Low German language. *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 5.61-72.

EPP, REUBEN. 1993. *The Story of Low German & Plautdietsch: Tracing a Language Across the Globe*. Hillsboro, Kansas: Reader's Press.

EPP, REUBEN. 1996. *The Spelling of Low German & Plautdietsch: Toward an Official Plautdietsch Orthography*. Hillsboro, Kansas: Reader's Press.

EVERS, ARNOLD. 1975. *The Transformational Cycle of Dutch and German*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utrecht.

FAST, PETER W. 1982. *Phonemic Orthography for Plautdietsch #3*. Calgary, Alberta: unpublished m.s.

FEHR, JACOB M. 1993. *De Stuk Maschien: Low German Poems & Stories*. Swift Current, Saskatchewan: n.p.

FEHR, JACOB M. 2001. *Knak Sot: Low German Poems & Stories*. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers.

FEHR, JACOB M. 2005. *Prips un Schnetje too Faspa: Low-German Poems – Stories*. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers.

FEHR, JACOB M. 2006. *Plautdietsche Bibel Jeschichten fa Kjinja* [Low German Bible Stories for Children]. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers.

GOERZEN, JACOB WARKENTIN. 1950. *The Phonology of Plautdietsch*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta.

GOERZEN, JACOB WARKENTIN. 1970. *Low German in Canada: A Study of "Plautdïtsch" as Spoken by Mennonite Immigrants from Russia*. Edmonton: n.p.

GOLDBERG, ADELE. 2006. *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GORDON, RAYMOND G., JR. 2005. Plautdietsch. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/.

HAEGEMAN, LILIANE and HENK VAN RIEMSDIJK. 1986. Verb projection raising, scope, and the typology of rules affecting verbs. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17 (3).417-466.

HAIDER, HUBERT. 2003. V-clustering and clause union: causes and effects. *Verb Constructions in German and Dutch*, ed. by Pieter A. M. Seuren and Gerard Kempen, 91-126. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins.

HAWKINS, JOHN A. 1999. Processing complexity and filler-gap dependencies across grammars. *Language* 75 (2).244-285.

HEINRICHS, JAKE, HANS EPP, ED ZACHARIAS and ISAAK DOERKSEN. 2001. *Schriewwies un Gramatikj von de Plautdietsche Sproak* [Orthography and Grammar of the Low German Language]. Kitchener, Ontario: unpublished m.s.

HOOGE, DAVID. 1973. Das Verb in der Parätaxe und Hypotaxe statistisch gesehen [The verb in parataxis and hypotaxis from a statistical perspective]. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 26.328-341.

HOOGE, DAVID. 1974. Die Präzision der Aktionsart durch das verb tjrie bekommenin der niederdeutschen Mundart [The precision of *Aktionsart* by means of the verb tjrie getin the Low German dialect]. *Muttersprache* 84.396-399.

HOOGE, DAVID. 1991. Zur Syntax der mündlichen Rede in nieder- und hochdeutschen Sprachinseln der Sowjetunion, statistisch gesehen [On the syntax of oral speech in Low and High German linguistic enclaves in the Soviet Union from a statistical perspective]. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 114.151-163.

Jedig, Hugo H. 1966. *Laut- und Formenbestand der niederdeutschen Mundart des Altai-Gebietes* [Phonological and morphological inventory of the Low German dialect of the Altai region]. Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-histor. Klasse 112 (5). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Jedig, Hugo H. 1969. *Очерки по синтаксису нижненемецкого говора алтайского края* [Studies of the Syntax of the Low German Language of the Altai Region]. Omsk: западно-сибирское книжное издательство.

Kaufmann, Göz. 1997. *Varietätendynamik in Sprachkontaktsituationen: Attitüden und Sprachverhalten rußlanddeutscher Mennoniten in Mexiko und den USA* [Variety Dynamics in Language Contact Situations: Attitudes and Linguistic Behaviour of Russian-German Mennonites in Mexico and the USA]. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Kaufmann, Göz. 2003a. The verb cluster in Mennonite Low German. *German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives / Deutsche Sprachinseln weltweit: Interne und externe Perspektive*, ed. by Klaus J. Mattheier and William D. Keel, 177-198. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Kaufmann, Göz. 2003b. Des Plattdeutschen Wanderjahre oder die lexikalischen Folgen der mennonitischen Flucht nach Amerika [Low German's years of wandering, or the lexical consequences of the Mennonite flight to America]. *"Standardfragen": Soziolinguistische Perspektiven auf Sprachgeschichte, Sprachkontakt, und*

Sprachvariation. Variolingua 18, ed. by Jannis Androutsopoulos and Evelyn Ziegler, 139-160. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

KAUFMANN, GÖZ. 2004. Eine Gruppe – Zwei Geschichten – Drei Sprachen. Rußlanddeutsche Mennoniten in Brasilien und Paraguay [One group – two histories – three languages. Russian-German Mennonites in Brazil and Paraguay]. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 71.257-306.

KAUFMANN, GÖZ. 2005. Der eigensinnige Informant: Ärgernis bei der Datenerhebung oder Chance zum analytischen Mehrwert. [The wilful informant: a nuisance for data collection or an opportunity for added analytical value.] *Corpuslinguistik in Lexik und Grammatik*, ed. by Friedrich Lenz and Stefan J. Schierholz, 61-95. Tübingen: Stauffenberg Verlag.

KEFER, MICHEL and JOSEPH LEJEUNE. 1974. Satzglieder innerhalb eines Verbalkomplexes [Sentence elements within a verbal complex]. *Deutsche Sprache* 2 (4).322-334.

KLASSEN, HEINRICH N. 1969. Untersuchungen zum grammatischen Bau der niederdeutschen Mundart im Gebiet Orenburg (RSFSR) [Investigations of the grammatical structure of the Low German dialect in the Orenburg region (USSR)]. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 18 (6).27-48.

KLASSEN, HEINRICH N. 1977. Zum Satzbau der Niederdeutschen Mundart im Gebiet Orenburg (RSFSR) [On sentence structure in the Low German dialect in the Orenburg region (USSR)]. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*

26 (3).59-65.

Klassen, Heinrich N. 1993. *Mundart und Plautdietsche Jeschichte: ut dem Orenburgschen en ut demr Memritjschen (Russlaund)* [Dialect and Low German Stories: From Orenburg and Memrik (Russia)]. Marburg an der Lahn: N. G. Elwert Verlag.

Klassen, Jack R. 2003. *Dee Trajchtmoaka* [The chiropractor]. Altona, Manitoba: n.p.

Kloss, Heinz. 1989. Sociolinguistic parallels between the Mennonite speakers of Pennsylvania German (or Pennsylfoanisch) and of Plautdietsch. *Studies on the languages and the verbal behavior of the Pennsylvania Germans II*, ed. by Werner Enninger, Joachim Raith and Karl-Heinz Wandt, 117-124. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Krahn, Cornelius et al. 1959. *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House.

Loewen, Harry and Al Reimer. 1985. Origins and literary development of Canadian-Mennonite Low German. *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 59 (3).279-286.

Loewen, Jacob A. 1996. *Onze ieashte Missjounsreiz* [Our first missions trip]. Abbotsford, British Columbia: QL Trust.

Loewen, Jacob A. 1998. Toward a phonemic alphabet of Plautdietsh. *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 16.128-146.

Lötscher, Andreas. 1978. Zur Verbstellung im Zürichdeutschen und in anderen Varianten des Deutschen [On verbal placement in Zurich German and in other varieties of German]. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 45 (1).1-29.

LOUDEN, MARK L. 2005. The logic of nonstandard syntax. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 72 (2).167-182.

MCIVER, VERA. 1995. *Quest for Freedom*. Victoria, British Columbia: Flynn Bros. Publishing.

MEIER, JÜRGEN. 1978. Zur Behandlung der Syntax in den niederdeutschen Dialektwörterbüchern [On the treatment of syntax in Low German dialect dictionaries.] *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 45 (3).289-311.

MEURERS, WALT DETMAR. 2000. *Lexical Generalizations in the Syntax of German Non-Finite Constructions*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Tübingen.

MIERAU, ERIC. 1964. *A Descriptive Grammar of Ukrainian Low German*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.

MITZKA, WALTHER. 1930. *Die Sprache der deutschen Mennoniten* [The language of the German Mennonites]. Heimatblätter des deutschen Heimatbundes Danzig 8 (1). Danzig: A. W. Kafemann GmbH.

MOELLEKEN, WOLFGANG W. 1972. *Niederdeutsch der Molotschna- und Chortitzamennoniten in British Columbia / Kanada* [Low German of the Molochnaya and Chortitza Mennonites in British Columbia / Canada]. Phonai 10. Lautbibliothek der europäischen Sprachen und Mundarten. Deutsche Reihe. Monographien 4. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

MOELLEKEN, WOLFGANG W. 1986. Spracherhaltungsfaktoren in den mexikanischen Siedlungen der rußlandeutschen Mennoniten [Language maintenance factors in the Mexican settlements of the Russian Mennonites]. *Germanistische*

Mitteilungen 24.61-81.

MOELLEKEN, WOLFGANG W. 1987a. Die linguistische Heimat der russlanddeutschen Mennoniten in Kanada und Mexiko [The linguistic home of the Russian-German Mennonites in Canada and Mexico]. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 110.89-123.

MOELLEKEN, WOLFGANG W. 1987b. Die Russlanddeutschen Mennoniten in Kanada und Mexiko: Sprachliche Entwicklung und Diglossische Situation [The Russian-German Mennonites in Canada and Mexico: linguistic development and diglossic situation]. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 54.145-183.

NAIDITCH, LARISSA. 2001. Die Entwicklung des Vokalismus im Mennonitenplatt [The development of vowels in Mennonite Low German]. *Beiträge zu Linguistik und Phonetik. Festschrift für Joachim Göschel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Angelika Braun, 242-256. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

NAIDITCH, LARISSA. 2005. On the development of the consonant system in Mennonite Low German (Plautdietsch). *Dialects Across Borders: Selected Papers from the 11th International Conference on Methods in Dialectology. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series 4*, ed. by Markku Filppula, 73-86. Amsterdam / Philadephia: John Benjamins.

NIEUWEBOER, ROGIER. 1999. *The Altai Dialect of Plautdiitsch. West-Siberian Mennonite Low German*. Munich: Lincom Europa.

NIEUWEBOER, ROGIER. 2000. Das Plautdiitsche der russlanddeutschen Mennoniten vor und nach der Aussiedlung. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 123.115-43.

PETERS, VICTOR and JACK THIESSEN. 1990. *Plautdietsche Jeschichten: Gespräche –*

Interviews – Erzählungen [Low German Stories: Conversations – Interviews – Narratives]. Marburg an der Lahn: N. G. Elwert Verlag.

QUIRING, JACOB. 1928. *Die Mundart von Chortitza in Süd-Rußland* [The Dialect of Chortitza in Southern Russia]. Munich: Druckerei Studentenhaus München.

REDEKOP, CALVIN. 1969. *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press.

REGER, ADINA and DELBERT PLETT. 2001. *Diese Steine: Die Russlandmennoniten* [These Stones: The Russian Mennonites]. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers.

REIMER, AL. 1982. There's now an 'official' way to write Low German. *Mennonite Mirror* 11 (June).7-8.

REIMER, AL and ANNE REIMER and JACK THIESSEN, eds. 1983. *A Sackful of Plautdietsch: A Collection of Mennonite Low German Stories and Poems.* Winnipeg, Manitoba: Hyperion Press.

REMPEL, HERMAN. 1995. *Kjenn Jie Noch Plautdietsch: A Mennonite Low German Dictionary.* 2nd rev. ed. Rosenort, Manitoba: PrairieView Press.

RICE, KEREN. 2006. Let the language tell its story? The role of linguistic theory in writing grammars. *Catching Language: The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing. Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 167*, ed. by Felix K. Ameka, Alan Dench, and Nicholas Evans, 235-268. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

ROHKOHL, KAI. 1993. *Die plautdietsche Sprachinseln Fernheim/Chaco (Paraguay): Dokumentation des Sprachverhaltens einer russlanddeutschen*

Mennonitenkolonie [The Low German Linguistic Enclave Fernheim/Chaco (Paraguay): Documentation of the Linguistic Behaviour of a Russian-German Mennonite Colony]. Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag.

SALTVEIT, LAURITS. 1983. Syntax. *Handbuch zur niederdeutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. by Gerhard Cordes and Dieter Möhn, 279-333. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

SCHMID, TANJA and RALF VOGEL. 2004. Dialectal variation in German 3-verb clusters: a surface oriented OT account. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 7 (3).235-274.

SEUREN, PIETER A. M. 2004. The importance of being modular. *Journal of Linguistics* 40.593-635.

SIEMENS, HEINRICH. 2003. Der baltische Sprachbund [The Baltic linguistic area]. *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprache* 110 (1).33-34.

STEINER, PETRA. 2003. *Das revidierte Münsteraner Tagset Deutsch (MT/D). Beschreibung, Anwendung, Beispiele und Problemfälle* [The Revised Münster Tagset for German (MT/D). Description, Application, Examples and Problematic Cases]. Online: http://xlex.uni-muenster.de/Portal/MTPD/tagsetDescriptionDE.ps

STEFANOWITSCH, ANATOL and STEFAN TH. GRIES. 2003. Collostructions: investigating the interaction of words and constructions. *Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8 (2).209-243.

STRUNK, JAN. 2003. *Least-effort Noun Gender Induction for Low Saxon*. Unpublished seminar paper, Stanford University.

STRUNK, JAN. 2004. *Possessive Constructions in Modern Low Saxon*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Stanford University.

THIESSEN, JOHN. 1963. *Studien zum Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten* [Studies of the Lexicon of the Canadian Mennonites]. Deutsche Dialektgeographie Band 64. Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag.

THIESSEN, JACK. 1988. Low German (Plautdietsch) in Manitoba. *German-Canadian Yearbook Volume X*, ed. by Gerhard Friesen and Karin Gürttler, 127-138.

THIESSEN, JACK. 1989. A new look at an old problem: origins of the variations in Mennonite Plautdietsch. *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 63.285-296.

THIESSEN, JACK. 2000. The only Mennonite *Heimat*: Mennonite Low German. *Jourhal of Mennonite Studies* 18.157-163.

THIESSEN, JACK. 2003. *Mennonite Low German Dictionary / Mennonitisch-Plattdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Madison, Wisconsin: Max Kade Institute.

THIESSEN, JACK. 2006. Dutch-Flemish words in Mennonite Low German. *Preservings: A Journal of the D. F. Plett Historical Research Foundation* 26.23-26.

THUN, HARALD. 1999. Slavismen und ihre Ersetzung im Niederdeutschen brasiliansicher russländischer Mennoniten [Slavicisms and their replacement in the Low German of Brasilian Russian Mennonites]. *Texte und Kontexte in Sprachen und Kulturen: Festschrift für Jörn Albrecht*, ed. by Norbert Greiner, Joachim Kornelius and Giovanni Rovere, 301-321. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.

TUFIS, DAN and OLIVER MASON. 1998. Tagging Romanian texts: a case study for QTag, a language-independent probabilistic tagger. *First International Conference on*

Language Resources and Evaluation, Granada, 20-30 May, 1998.

WIENS, GERHARD. 1957. Entlehnungen aus dem Russischen im Niederdeutschen der Mennoniten in Rußland [Borrowings from Russian in the Low German of the Mennonites in Russia]. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 80.93-100.

WURMBRAND, SUSI. 2004. West Germanic verb clusters: the empirical domain. *Verb Clusters: A Study of Hungarian, German, and Dutch*, ed. by Katalin É. Kiss and Henk van Riemsdijk, 43-85. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

WURMBRAND, SUSI. 2006. Verb clusters, verb raising, and restructuring. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, ed. by Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, 229-343. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

YANG, CHARLES. 2008. The great number crunch. *Journal of Linguistics* 44.205-228.

ZIESEMER, WALTHER. 1924 (1970). *Die ostpreußischen Mundarten: Proben und Darstellung* [The East Prussian Dialects: Samples and Description]. Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig oHG.

ZWART, JAN-WOUTER. 2005. Continental West Germanic languages. *Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Richard S. Kayne, 903-946. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ZWART, JAN-WOUTER. 2007. Some notes on the origin and distribution of the IPP-effect. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 45.77-99.

Appendix A: Tagset for Mennonite Low German

The 99 part-of-speech tags listed in this appendix represent an application of the larger Münster Tagset for German (*Münsteraner Tagset / Deutsch*, MT/D; Petra 2003) to Mennonite Low German. Broad similarities in the grammatical features of Standard German and those of Mennonite Low German permit the basic structure of this tagset to remain essentially the same for both languages, differing only minimally in the presence or absence of individual part-of-speech tags from one tagset to the other where formal differences between the two languages warrant deviation. Thus, the proposed tagset maintains the basic system of annotation for both verbs and nouns, specifying verb class (i.e. lexical, modal, or auxiliary), tense, person, number, and mood for the former items; and noun type (i.e. common or proper), number, and case for the latter. The Mennonite Low German differs from its parent tagset, however, in omitting a series of verbal tags which serve to annotate distinct subjunctive forms, which are formally identical with the simple preterite forms of such verbs in Mennonite Low German (cf. Jedig 1966: 106), as well as a series of noun tags concerning the genitive case, which appears to have been preserved only in fixed expressions (cf. Reimer et al. 1983: 27).

Such changes, however, are relatively minor, having little impact upon the overall structure of the tagset. While further modifications, both to tagging conventions in certain problematic cases and to the tags themselves (it may be necessary to distinguish between a dative and an accusative case in certain dialects of Mennonite Low German, for example, in which case additional tags may be needed), might be proposed, the present tagset would appear sufficient for the corpus sample under consideration.

Class	Part-of-speech tag	Code	Examples
Adjective (A)			
	Attributive adjective	Aa	*scheena (Dag)*
	Predicative adjective	Ap	*(X es) scheen*
Adposition (P)			
	Preposition without fused article	Pr	*aun, bat, noh*
	Preposition with fused article	Pa	*aum, em*
	Postposition	Po	*entlang, vebi*
Adverb (B)			
	Adverb	Bg	*vondoag, (foaht) schwind*
	Pronominal adverb	Bp	*doaraun, doamet*
	Interrogative adverb	Bi	*wuahan*
Article (D)			
	Definite article	Db	*de, dän, däm*
	Indefinite article	Du	*een, 'en, eene, 'ne*
Conjunction (C)			
	Subordinating conjunction	Cs	*wan, aus (time)*
	Coordinating conjunction	Ck	*oba, un*
	Comparative conjunction	Cv	*aus (comparison)*
	Split conjunction – start	Ca	*entwäda, je*
	Split conjunction – end	Cz	*ooda, je*
Foreign (Z)			
	Foreign-language material	Z	*hello*
Noun (N)			
	Common noun, nom. sg.	Ngns	*(de) Maun (es X)*
	Common noun, acc. sg.	Ngas	*(dän) Maun*
	Common noun, nom. pl.	Ngnp	*Mana (send X)*
	Common noun, acc. pl.	Ngap	*(X sag de) Mana*
	Common noun, indet. case sg.	Ng0s	
	Common noun, indet. case pl.	Ng0p	
	Common noun, nom. indet. num.	Ngn0	
	Common noun, acc. indet. num	Nga0	
	Proper noun, nom. sg.	Nens	*Leena (es X)*
	Proper noun, acc. sg.	Neas	*(X sag) Leena*
	Proper noun, nom. pl.	Nenp	*Friees (send X)*
	Proper noun, acc. pl.	Neap	*(X sag) Friees*
	Proper noun, indet. case sg.	Ne0s	
	Proper noun, indet. case pl.	Ne0p	
	Proper noun, nom. indet. num.	Nen0	
	Proper noun, acc. indet. num	Nea0	
Numerals (M)			
	Numeral	M	*11, 3.6, tieen*

Class	Part-of-speech tag	Code	Examples
Particle (Q)			
	Infinitival particle	Qi	*too, toom*
	Superlative particle	Qs	*aum (baste)*
	Verbal particle	Qv	*(X fot't) aun*
	Discourse particle, interjection	Qc	*oh, jo, na, nä*
	Negation particle	Qn	*nich*
Pronoun (R)			
	Personal pronoun	Rp	*wi, he, 'et*
	Attributive interrogative pronoun	Rqa	*woone, wooväle*
	Predicative interrogative pronoun	Rqp	*wäa, wäm*
	Relative pronoun	Rr	*woont, waut, däm*
	Attributive possessive pronoun	Rba	*onse (Kaut),* *miene (Hoa)*
	Predicative possessive pronoun	Rbp	*mient, dient*
	Attributive demonstrative pronoun	Rda	*dise / jane (Kaut)*
	Predicative demonstrative pronoun	Rdp	*disa, jana, dee*
	Attributive indefinite pronoun	Ria	*kjeen (Mensch)*
	Predicative indefinite pronoun	Rip	*kjeena, eenem*
	Reflexive pronoun	Rs	*sikj, di, mi*
	Reciprocal pronoun	Re	*eenaunda*
Punctuation (F)			
	Sentence-final punctuation	Fs	*! ? . :*
	Opening parenthesis or quote	Fa	*“ (*
	Closing parenthesis or quote	Fz	*”)*
	Sentence-internal punctuation	Fi	*, ;*
	Other punctuation and symbols	Fs	© -
Unknown (U)			
	Unknown material	U	
Verb (V)			
	Finite lex. verb, pres. indic. 1SG	Vfvia1s	*(ekj) kjikj*
	Finite lex. verb, pres. indic. 2SG	Vfvia2s	*(du) kjikjst*
	Finite lex. verb, pres. indic. 3SG	Vfvia3s	*(he) kjikjt*
	Finite lex. verb, pres. indic. 1PL	Vfvia1p	*(wi) kjikje[n]*
	Finite lex. verb, pres. indic. 2PL	Vfvia2p	*(ji) kjikje[n]*
	Finite lex. verb, pres. indic. 3PL	Vfvia3p	*(se) kjikje[n]*
	Finite lex. verb, past indic. 1SG	Vfvib1s	*(ekj) kjikjd*
	Finite lex. verb, past indic. 2SG	Vfvib2s	*(du) kjikj[d]st*
	Finite lex. verb, past indic. 3SG	Vfvib3s	*(he) kjikjd*
	Finite lex. verb, past indic. 1PL	Vfvib1p	*(wi) kjikjde[n]*
	Finite lex. verb, past indic. 2PL	Vfvib2p	*(ji) kjikjde[n]*
	Finite lex. verb, past indic. 3PL	Vfvib3p	*(se) kjikjde[n]*
	Finite lex. verb, imperative 2SG	Vfvca2s	*kjikj!*
	Finite lex. verb, imperative 2PL	Vfvca2p	*kjikjt!*

Class	Part-of-speech tag	Code	Examples
Verb (V)	Finite mod. verb, pres. indic. 1SG	Vfmia1s	*(ekj) saul*
	Finite mod. verb, pres. indic. 2SG	Vfmia2s	*(du) saulst*
	Finite mod. verb, pres. indic. 3SG	Vfmia3s	*(se) saul*
	Finite mod. verb, pres. indic. 1PL	Vfmia1p	*(wi) saule[n]*
	Finite mod. verb, pres. indic. 2PL	Vfmia2p	*(ji) saule[n]*
	Finite mod. verb, pres. indic. 3PL	Vfmia3p	*(se) saule[n]*
	Finite mod. verb, past indic. 1SG	Vfmib1s	*(ekj) sull*
	Finite mod. verb, past indic. 2SG	Vfmib2s	*(du) sullst*
	Finite mod. verb, past indic. 3SG	Vfmib3s	*(se) sull*
	Finite mod. verb, past indic. 1PL	Vfmib1p	*(wi) sulle[n]*
	Finite mod. verb, past indic. 2PL	Vfmib2p	*(ji) sulle[n]*
	Finite mod. verb, past indic. 3PL	Vfmib3p	*(se) sulle[n]*
	Finite aux. verb, pres. indic. 1SG	Vfaia1s	*(ekj) si*
	Finite aux. verb, pres. indic. 2SG	Vfaia2s	*(du) best*
	Finite aux. verb, pres. indic. 3SG	Vfaia3s	*(he) es*
	Finite aux. verb, pres. indic. 1PL	Vfaia1p	*(wi) send*
	Finite aux. verb, pres. indic. 2PL	Vfaia2p	*(ji) send*
	Finite aux. verb, pres. indic. 3PL	Vfaia3p	*(se) send*
	Finite aux. verb, past indic. 1SG	Vfaib1s	*(ekj) wea*
	Finite aux. verb, past indic. 2SG	Vfaib2s	*(du) weascht*
	Finite aux. verb, past indic. 3SG	Vfaib3s	*(he) wea*
	Finite aux. verb, past indic. 1PL	Vfaib1p	*(wi) weare[n]*
	Finite aux. verb, past indic. 2PL	Vfaib2p	*(ji) weare[n]*
	Finite aux. verb, past indic. 3PL	Vfaib3p	*(se) weare[n]*
	Finite aux. verb, imperative 2SG	Vfaca2s	*si (jescheit)!*
	Finite aux. verb, imperative 2PL	Vfaca2p	*siet (jescheit)!*
	Perfect participle	Via	*jekjikjt*
	Infinitive	Vii	*kjikje[n]*
	Infinitive with incorporated particle	Vib	*nohtookjikje[n]*